



PRE-MUGHAL PERSIAN
IN HINDUSTAN

ERRATA

<i>page</i>	<i>line</i>		<i>read</i>	<i>for</i>
63	15	(also pp. Index)	Hanzalah	Hinzalah
67	23	.....	grandson	nephew
69	11	.....	Qazdār	Basrah
70	7	.....	352 A. H.	367 A. H.
73	10	.....	before	after
82	11	(also pp. Index)	Sarkhash	Sarakhsh*
97	9	.....	Amīr Abū Mansūr	the same monarch
97	11	.....	346 A. H.	352 A. H.
98	14	.....	Sarakhsi	Sarakhshi
100	last	.....	Ghaznavī	Ghōr
101	14/16	.....	Gardēzi	Gurd-Yezi
114	8	(also pp. Index)	Mukhallad	Muhallad
114	13	(„ „ „)	Rabinjanī	Zanjānī
156	14, 17, 19	(„ „ „)	Khwārizm	Khwārazm
157	2	.....	Hamavī	Hamvī
253	5	.....	Bahrām	Ibrāhīm
331	26	.....	Fidā'i	Khakkar,
376	14	.....	Amīr	Sultān
417	2	.....	rhymed prose	Masnawī

Additional :—

<i>page</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>for</i>
100	16	475 A. H.	425 A. H.
102	24	add after comma :—	'a descendant of'
118	7	made	born
126	3 (f.n.)	successor	contemporary
191	20	sometime after	long before
193	9/15 (Ind.)	Al-nukatī	Alankatī
196	7	Khusraushāh	Bahrāmshāh
196	17	father	son
208	12	'Alā'uddīn Mas'ūd's	Ibrāhīm's
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373	19	امير تاج الدين سنجر	سلطان سنجر
384	9	Khānīs	Khān
483	11/12	a poet born and bred at Delhi, who lived	a poet. . . . India



GOVERNOR'S CAMP
CENTRAL PROVINCES

No. P.S. 1018

22nd April, 1935.

Dear Mr Ghani

I am directed to return herewith the Chapters of your book submitted for His Excellency's approval.

I am to add that His Excellency has perused them with much pleasure, and offers you his congratulations on the work.

Yours sincerely
Maeser



Pre-Mughal Persian IN HINDŪSTĀN

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF PERSIAN
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN INDIA FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ADVENT OF THE MUGHAL RULE

By

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WITH A FOREWORD

by

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M.A., D.SC., LL.D.

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*The late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Mubammad
Sulaimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.*

who very kindly contributed a *Foreword* to this volume
before his sad and untimely demise on 12th March, 1941

IN MEMORIAM

*While this book
was yet in the Press,
the news of the death
of Sir Shāh Muhammad
Sulaimān, which occurred on
the 12th of March 1941, came
through. The deceased had written
an illuminating Foreword to this
book, but it is much to be regretted
that he passed away before he could see it
in a final shape. It is hardly necessary for
the author to speak of his great qualities as
a judge and his wonderful insight and scholarship
in Oriental Learning. The author enjoyed the
unique privilege of discussing with him certain
fundamental and basic points in this book,
which, till then, had not been fully
investigated and brought to light; and
hereby he wishes to pay a tribute of
homage and respect to the memory
of one who was among the truly
remarkable intellectual figures
in contemporary Indian life,
and a great supporter
and lover of research
in arts and science.*

FOREWORD

By

THE HONOURABLE

SIR SHĀH MUHAMMAD SULAIMĀN

M.A., LL.D., D.SC.

Judge, Federal Court, India.

Vice-Chancellor
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.

FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to me to write a Foreword to [REDACTED] "Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān" by Shamsul 'Ulamā Professor 'Abdul Ghanī, which is the first comprehensive and critical survey in English of the growth of Persian language and literature in India. The subject furnishes an important and hitherto untrodden field of research, and promises to open a new chapter in the History of the literatures of Hindūstān for a further deep study and thorough investigation by orientalists.

The author has endeavoured to establish in this work certain fundamental propositions in regard to the Persian of Hindūstān, and has attempted to remove misconceptions of European orientalists concerning them. It is his claim that India was entirely on a level with Persia in the use and cultivation of Persian language and literature; and he maintains that the efforts of India's poets and prose-writers, in almost every period of history, from the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī down to the reign of Akbar the Great, were no less important and valuable than those of the Persian scholars themselves. It must be admitted that as both poetic and prose styles in India were not only based on Persian models, but

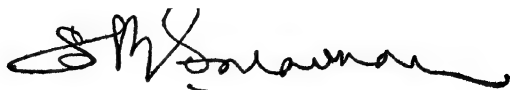
even improved upon by Indian writers, there could be no real justification for a sharp line of demarcation between "Persian Persian" and "Indian Persian", a somewhat arbitrary distinction which has always operated to the prejudice of India.

The learned author begins with a consideration of cultural relations between Persia and India, and between the 'Arabs, the Persians and the Hindūs. He has emphasized the close cultural harmony that existed between the two major communities of Hindūstān during the Mughal and the pre-Mughal days of administration. Professor 'Abdul Ghani's investigations into the lives and works of eminent men like al-Bīrūnī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Abul Faraj Rūnī, Khusrau, Ḥasan and the great Sūfī saint Khawāja Mu'inuddīn Chishtī Iṣfahānī, who settled and died at Ajmēr, are the fruits of a painstaking and laborious research.

The author has narrated historical data in support of his theme that in certain periods of the Indian history the centre of learning *thrice* shifted from Irān to India, when the eminent poets that arose in the Punjāb gave a lead to their Persian contemporaries. The author comes to the interesting conclusion that the cultural contact between India and Persia was of great antiquity and must date back to a period long before the appearance of the Ghaznavīds on the scene.

For a comparison with the Persian literature, a

separate and easily available account of India's own achievements in the field of Persian literature was wanting, and the present work admirably supplies this long-felt need.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. M. S. Sarwan', with a stylized, flowing script.

NEW DELHI
November 26, 1940

PREFACE

After completing the first *three* volumes of my work on the *History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court* (published by the Indian Press Ltd. Allāhābād), it was severally suggested to me by some worthy friends and colleagues, prominent among whom are Nawāb Dr. Sir Amīn Jang Bahādur, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Secretary to the Nizām Government, Hyderābād, Deccan; the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān, LL.D., Bar-at-Law, Ex-Chief Justice, Allāhābād, now Judge, Federal Court of Judicature of India, Delhi, and Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, 'Aligarh; the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, Lahore; Dr. Mansūr Ahmad, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin), 'Aligarh; and my own brother, Professor M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alig.) of the Lucknow University that I should undertake the writing of a companion volume, dealing with the history of Persian literature in India from the earliest times, that is, from the 'Arab conquest to the advent of the Mughal rule. After some hesitation I accepted their suggestion, as I realised that it was a necessary prelude to my previous work.

The work done already in this field was from Bābur to Akbar. Consequently, a link was needed to connect the study of Persian life and literature under

the Mughals with a previous history of its own, so as to make the subject historically complete. The difficulties in the way were enormous, owing to lack of appreciation and facilities for research on this subject in the C. P. After much patient and sustained effort, however, I have been able to construct a history of Persian literature in India, as it had been influenced and moulded by Arabic, from the advent of the first 'Arab expedition in Sindh to the Mughal entry in Hindūstān. The materials are drawn from the original sources and the contemporary records of the 'Arab and Persian authors, of which full reference is given in the foot-notes. The reader will obtain a clear view of the growth of "Arabicised Persian" in India in the Pre-Mughal era from a perusal of these pages. The real value of this work is that it has started a fresh inquiry and presented a new phase in the history of Persian literature by establishing certain fundamental truths against the hitherto accepted verdicts and beliefs of some of the accredited modern Persian and English writers in regard to India's output. It will be a revelation to many to find that India of the Pre-Mughal era was at par with Persia, and many a Persian poet of repute came to India and learnt poetry in its Indian setting. Even the best poets of Persia took their cue from the poets that arose in the Punjāb, which remained for centuries the radiating centre of Persian culture in the East. This assertion might sound to many orientalists a

pretentious claim, specially to those who are familiar with the views of European scholars on the nature of Persian literature produced in India. Their judgment is, in fact, based on the opinions expressed by Persian writers, chiefly of the modern era. For example, they maintain that the Persian culture in India has not been integrally connected with the Persian culture as such, and consequently it never rose to the level of Persian culture. Concerning the literature or the writings in the Persian tongue by the Indians, the Western critics maintain that the literature produced in India remained *Indian*, meaning thereby that it was inferior to the Persian literature produced in Persia. To show this alleged inferiority, they have been in the habit of using the expression *Indian Persian*, contrasting it with *Persian Persian*.

This work begins by challenging the opinion cited above in regard to the Persian of our land. In fact, the Indian scholars of the nineteenth century never paid any serious attention to this question, probably for the reason either that they never suspected any injury to India, or that the voice of their European and Persian critics was not heard so loud as to disturb their equanimity and equilibrium of mind. Time rolled on, and with it went forth the conviction, like passive realism, until the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth century dawned with a brighter outlook and a wider and more real quest for the search of facts. Consequently, the belief

that had gained ground began to be shaken, and attempts were made by some indigenous writers to unravel the truth by going deep into the question. The pioneer work in this field was done by India's great scholar, Shibli Nu'mānī. Every student of Persian knows the tremendous effect Shibli's Shi'ru'l 'Ajam has had in dispelling the wrong notion about the Persian of Hindūstān. The great Shibli, however, did not live long to show the exact nature and the grandeur of Persian literature of India to the world. The task still awaits completion.

India's contribution to the enrichment of Persian, both in form and content, and its advancement as a classical and International literature, is so substantial that Persia cannot at any stage of its development afford to neglect it. We see that from the very commencement of the Ghaznavīd rule, the whole tract of land, extending from the borders of Delhi to the centres of learning in Persia, was one long connecting chain dominated by Persian influence and culture, and specially Persian poetry, which represented fully the Persian thought and Persian learning. All the Provinces and cities lying in this zone were swayed by one civilization and one literature which was Persian, and this had penetrated so deep into the heart of the population, from the man in the street to the king on the throne, that the distinction between Ghaznī and Lahore or Khurāsān and the Punjāb was never felt. Ghaznī, being the capital

seat of Maḥmūd's vast Persian and Indian empire, and the central city of the kingdom, had very close connection with Hindūstān, specially the Punjāb, and was then actually reckoned among the cities of *Hind*. After the Ghaznavid rule, this aspect of cultural unity ever kept on developing under the fostering care of the Muslim kings, beginning with the first Ghōrī king to the last great Mughal who sat on the throne of Delhi. The taste of these people for poetry and art, and the custom, fashion, food and dress were all adopted after the Persian manner and style. The Punjāb was the foremost among the Provinces of Hindūstān which became so completely Persianised that the centre of Persian learning and culture *thrice* shifted from Iran to India.

A great reason for India's claim for equality with Persia in classical learning and culture, during the early and the middle ages, is that the Persians from the Pre-Islāmic times used to migrate to the cities of the Punjāb, and settle there. They and their descendants continued to be in close communication with their relations in Persia, and visits were mutually exchanged between them every now and then, which always gave fresh vigour to their genius and taste, and kept the torch of Persian culture burning bright in the Punjāb. In addition to this, fresh bands of Persian scholars kept on migrating to India owing to the better appreciation and scope for their literary productions in the Indian atmosphere. Thus we

see that the Persian culture, which the early and subsequent emigrants brought with them to India, was neither borrowed nor second-hand, but was pure and original in tone. The result was that immediately after the Muḥammadan conquest and the establishment of the Muslim rule and influence in upper Hindūstān, the taste of the people here for art, science and literature was found to be rigidly Persian to the core. This process of emigration from amongst the Persian people to India, as already pointed out, had commenced long before the 'Arab conquest of Persia. Thousands of Persian families living in Khurāsān were banned and banished from the country in the Achaemenian period, because of their suspected fidelity to the crown. They came to India, and settled in the districts of Multān, Delhi and specially Lāhore. This great event caused the appearance of an important Persian colony in the Punjāb, which swelled ever afterwards with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians. Historians relate that a big city of Persian population had, in the course of time, grown up near Lāhore, from where Maḥmūd's grandson, Sultān Ibrāhīm, once caused to be sent *one hundred thousand* Persian settlers to adorn his capital Ghaznī. The Ghaznavid kings, as also the long line of their successors in India, loved Persian art and literature, and patronized their creators liberally. We read that there were in Maḥmūd's attendance no less than *four hundred* poets

of Persian language, whose leader was 'Unsuri. One can imagine the tremendous cultural influence exerted by an Eastern monarch in those days. Picture the literary atmosphere and the taste for Persian poetry created through his person when he moved about in upper Hindūstān with all his retinue of select poets and scholars in attendance.

The Indian capital of the Ghaznavīd empire was Lāhore which vibrated with the wave of Persian civilization and learning, and became a great emporium of Persian art and culture in the East. The ancestors of the famous *India-born* poets writing in Persian, who carried away the palm from Persia, were also living at Lāhore. They were followed by many others whose poetic greatness was acknowledged by their contemporaries in Persia, and glowing tributes were paid to their genius and composition. Even the leaders of thought in Persia, like Hakīm Sanā'ī, Amīr Mu'izzi, Anwari, Falakī Shīrwānī, and their colleagues at Kāshghar, Balkh, Bukhārā and Samarqand, off and on, bowed to these Indian masters, calling them *teachers of the world in the art of Persian versification*, and closely followed them in style and thought. There was, so to say, no dearth in India of first-rate poets, though the later Persian biographers went to the length of declaring to the world that there arose no poets of consequence in the Pre-Mughal era, except one, Amīr Khusrau. But the fact is that there were many Amīr Khusraus

whom India produced, but they were all denied due recognition by their less generous Persian friends who came long after their forefathers had pronounced a judgment which did not appear palatable to their sons. Their assertions, nevertheless, were supported by reference to no historical source, nor their validity subsequently tested by any European writer. The result was that their verdict passed unchallenged from one author to the other until it became a common place in the modern propagandist literature of Persia to the detriment of India. Even Browne, the well-known English critic and authority on Persian affairs, was misled by such criticism, and differentiated between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian*. But he too suspected the unfair treatment meted out to India at the hands of the later Persian biographers when he wrote:

“Care must be taken not to overlook any poet of originality and talent merely because he has not found favour with the Persian biographers who, especially in their treatment of contemporaries, are apt to be swayed by personal, political, and even religious prejudices and predilections.”

(Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, page 105).

During my stay at Cambridge, I, too, had personal discussions with him, but he would not give

weight to anything which was contrary to what the Persian historians had said on the subject. Vide his views in an autograph note to the C. P. Government recommending my leave:—

FIRWOOD,

TRUMPINGTON ROAD,

CAMBRIDGE.

Sir,

I am in general agreement with the conclusion put forward by Sir George Butler & Mr. Brucker in favour of allowing Professor Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghannī to remain here for another year, in order to complete the period required of Research students before they can proceed to a degree.

Professor 'Abdu'l-Ghani
appears to cling to what I
regard as the delusion that
Indian Persian is better than
Persian Persian—a matter
of constant conflict between us.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Edward G. Browne

The Last sentence which reads:—

“Professor ‘Abdu’l Ghani appears to cling to what I regard as the delusion that Indian Persian is better than Persian Persian—a matter of constant conflict between us.....”

is noteworthy. My whole contention was that *Indian Persian* generally was in no way inferior to *Persian Persian*, and in certain periods of history was even superior to the latter in thought and diction,

which, in Persia itself, had deteriorated owing to lack of patronage and dearth of first-rate poets. Had Browne lived to read through the pages of this volume, his views, I feel certain, would have been greatly modified as they did to some extent, when my dissertation on *Mughal Persian* was completed and presented to the University.

Happily, the data, on which the real merit of India's poets and authors is to be based, survive to this day, and the integrity of Persian idiom with the loftiness of style and diction, which received the highest encomiums in contemporary Persia, may be seen still in their works. All this, in fact, was due to India's long and abiding connection with the Persian centres of learning, through social and blood relationship channels. The later Persian biographers, who were not privy to this mystery, were baffled by this phenomenon, and thought its convenient solution lay in minimising India's importance by methods which may be analysed as follows:—

- (i) by attributing a Persian home to India-born poets who were acknowledged in Persia itself as masters, like Abdul Faraj Rūnī (Lāhore), Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Lāhaurī, Mazhar Tattawī, Khwājah 'Amīd Dehlevī, Khwājah Abū 'Alī Multānī, Saif-uddīn Dabīr Dehlevī and others;
- (ii) by taking very little notice of the works of

many a first-rate indigenous poet and a new-comer who later developed his art here, and threw a challenge to Persia, like Khwājah Mu‘īnuddīn Chishtī Isfahānī, Ustādush-Shu‘arā Ruknī Shihāb Mehma-rah Badāūnī, Maulānā ‘Isāmuddīn ‘*Isāmī* Dehlevī, *Hamīduddīn* Mas‘ūd Shālikōb Lāhaurī, Malik ul ‘Allām Shamsuddīn Dabīr, Malik ul Kalām Amīr Fakhruddīn ‘Amīd Naunakī, Bahā’uddīn Ooshī Dehlevī, Khwājah *Hasan* Sanjarī Dehlevī, Khwājah Badruddīn Shāshī (better known as Badr i Chāch), Qazī *Zahīr* Dehlevī, Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh Dehlevī and many others;

- (iii) by an adverse criticism of all such Persian emigrants as perfected their poetic art in Indian surroundings; and
- (iv) by a faint half-hearted praise of those poets who had the backing of a strong public opinion both in India and Persia.

These four methods of the later Persian biographers have been fully scrutinized in this book, and the real truth established, which gives India its rightful place and makes it the honoured equal of Persia.

The gigantic proportions of this self-imposed work have been brought home to the reader. In the discharge of this onerous yet necessary task, an

almost utter lack of research facilities has added to the many other difficulties of place and circumstance. Although I have spared no pains in securing the highest degree of accuracy, yet I am conscious of the many shortcomings and imperfections of my work, for which I crave the indulgence of my critical reader. *He who undertakes to write a flawless book writes nothing* is a well known maxim which is universally true. With these words I commend my book to my appreciative readers.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing my thanks to my brother Prof. M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alīg), of the Lucknow University; to my worthy colleague Mr. J. N. W. Paul, M.A., F.R.H.S. (London), Deputy Director of Public Instruction, C. P. and Berār; and to my learned friends, Professor Hādī Ḥasan, B.A. (Cantab), PH.D. (London) and Maulānā Shāikh, 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Maiman, Heads of the Departments of Persian and Arabic in the University of 'Aligarh, for their great encouragement, appreciation and valuable help.

Lastly, my thanks are due to The Allāhābād Law Journal Company Ltd., Allāhābād, for their unfailing courtesy and care with which they have printed this work, the completion of which has been a source of real pleasure and satisfaction to me.

ROBERTSON COLLEGE
JUBBULPORE
October 18, 1940

Shams u'l 'Ulamā al-Hāj
Muḥammad 'Abdu'l Ghānī

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A NOTE

ON

THE SIGNS USED FOR DETERMINING ARABIC AND PERSIAN CHARACTERS OF SIMILAR SOUND IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL NAMES AND WORDS OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

(With apology to scholars)

An important problem yet to be solved in the transliteration of oriental names and in the transcription of original Persian and Arabic texts is the successful employment of special signs to distinguish between the alphabetical characters of similar sound. For example, the sound of ث , س and ص is expressed by a simple 'S' in English; that of ذ , ض and ط by 'Z'; of ح and ه by 'h'; and of ت and ط by a soft 't' as in *thrill*. Indian scholars who have received their training in English Universities, and those who have learnt the English method in India, follow in some cases a most unnatural system. For instance, *one single letter* ث as in مثنوی is represented by *two letters* in the English alphabets, with the help of a third sign '—' underneath them (as in 'th'), which confounds the reader more than it helps him. Similarly, the sound of ط as in نظامي is expressed by 'dh', that

of چ by 'ch', of خ by 'kh', of غ by 'gh' and of ه by 'sh'. The correct and simple method would be to employ *one single letter* to convey *one single sound* as is done in the Continental and other Universities of the world.

This note is a warning against the odd method of transcribing مثنوی as 'mathnawī' instead of the simple 'masnawī' or نظامی as 'Nidhāmī' instead of 'Nizāmī'. It may here be pointed out that in England the use of 'th' (denoting ث) and 'dh' (denoting ط) was perhaps needed for the guidance of the average English student who is not very familiar with Arabic and Persian script. But in India such is not the case, and hence recourse to this practice is not at all necessary, since the average Indian student well knows that there is ث in مثنوی (not س or ص), and ط in نظامی (not ذ, ز or ض).

What is virtually needed is that a separate uniform method specially suited to India, should be adopted by Indian scholars, and the problem be solved once for all by a special Committee of distinguished scholars of India meeting in conference. Until such time, however, one must adopt the simplest course or what may appear to him the most convenient and popular in the circumstances for the spelling of oriental names and words.

For the guidance, therefore, of the general reader I have adopted special signs as follows, in close conformity with the International system:

	Capital	Small
س	S	s
ث	Ṣ	ṣ
ص	<u>S</u>	<u>s</u>
ذ	Z	z
ذ	<u>Z</u>	<u>z</u>
ظ	<u>Z</u>	<u>z</u>
ض	<u>Z</u>	<u>z</u>
ه	H	h
ح	<u>H</u>	<u>h</u>
ت	T	t
ط	<u>T</u>	<u>t</u>

The letters چ-خ-غ and ه continue to be represented by 'ch', 'kh', 'gh' and 'sh' respectively for the purpose of this book.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Section I—Preliminary remarks; a passing reference to the cultural relations between Persia and India; relation between Arabic and Persian in the wake of the 'Arab conquest of Persia.

India and Persia have been neighbours, and have had cultural connections with each other since times immemorial through the contacts of their civilizations and literatures. Their cultures, though distinct today, bear the same relationship to each other as exists between two sisters married in distant and different homes. The same is true of their spoken tongues, Sanskrit and Persian, which belong to the same family and bear a close kinship.

Time was when these languages possessed similar form and style, and were governed by similar aims, spirit and tendencies. The origin of these languages is identical, a fact which is a commonplace of philology and linguistics. Nevertheless, what has not been realized fully is that when India, for the first time, heard the Sanskrit accents from the lips of her Aryan conquerors, she really was listening to the music of Persian speech. The Aryan race had

spread out to India and Persia from a common centre somewhere in Central Asia. Thus it is easy to look upon the advent of Persian proper in India as the settling down of a person in his sister's home.

We find that almost all the invading or conquering races, except of course the 'Arabs, who had entered India in ancient and mediaeval times, did so through the Passes lying on the North-Western frontier. This means that they came to India speaking either Persian or a language highly coloured by the Persian idiom, owing to the dominating influence of Persian civilization in Central Asia. Hence it is obvious that Persian civilization and language have had more than just a superficial association with the culture of Hindūstān for some thousands of years. The one has vitally affected the culture of the other. "It seems pretty certain," says Browne, "that the Indians and Persians were once united in a common Indo-Irānian race located somewhere in the Punjāb."¹ The Persians, long before the rise of Islām, had close relations with India, and their monarchs, until the Sāsānian regime, wielded authority over the Western Punjāb and the Provinces of Sindh and Balūchistān. In the Achaemenian period (B.C. 521), when the Persian empire was at its zenith, King Darius, the Great, had deputed one of his officers, Scylax (the Greek Admiral), to discover the sea-route to India.

¹ *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 33.

This discovery finally led to the conquest of Sindh, part of the Punjāb and Afghānistān, and their annexation to the Persian empire. The relations thus established between the two great peoples of Persia and India evoked a natural regard for each other's culture, language and mode of living.

There is further evidence to show that the *Jāts* of the Punjāb, whom the 'Arab historians have styled *زُت* (*Zut*), formed part of the Persian army which fought with the 'Arabs in the famous battle of Nihāwand under Yezd-gurd¹ III, the last Sāsānian

¹ It is a compound of *یزد* and *گُرد*. The former is a contraction of *یزدان* (the god of Virtue); while the latter indicates a warrior or a soldier. Hence the expression *Yezd-gurd* means a soldier of the god of Virtue, which is almost similar to *Ghūzī* or *Knight*. Another reading is *Yezd-i-gird*, which has been commonly adopted by European writers. The word *گُرد* is derived from a Pahlawī verb meaning 'to make' or 'create'. Hence, the expression means 'god-made', which as a name or title of a Persian king is less significant. Originally, *گُرد* in old Persia was a title of highest honour given to a national hero who, in popular esteem, was held equal or even superior to the king. For instance, Bahrām, Hūmān, Rustam, Suhrāb and other great heroes of Persia have been addressed by Firdausī thus:

بر آویخت چوں شیر بهرام گُرد مه نیوّه برایشان یکه حمله بُرد

پیا سنج چنین گفت هومان گُرد که بنمود سهراب را دست بُرد

چو آنش پراگنده شد پیلتن درختی بجست از در باب زن

king of Persia.¹ Besides, thousands of Persian families residing in Khurāsān had been expelled from their country by the order of the Persian king Afrā-siyāb. They fled to the Punjāb, and found a home and shelter in the districts round about Lāhore, Multān and Delhi. Their permanent settlement here gave rise to an important city of Persian population which swelled with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians². This is the first great instance of direct historical connection of Persia with India, which sowed the seed of Persian culture securely in Indian soil. It also explains why the Persian speech in India had a marvellous growth, and remained intact for centuries, rivaling its glories in Persia itself. Apart from this

• یکے نرے گورے بزد بر درخت کہ در چنگِ لو پر مرغے نہ سخت
چو بریاں شد از ہم بکند و بخورد زمغز استخوانیں بر آوردن گورد
ازاں پس خرد شهید سہراب گورد ہی شاہ کاؤس را بر شمرد

It was also a proud title for the king. Cf. Ferīdūn, the mighty monarch of Persia, who defeated Zahhāk, was called گورد in the following verse:

شہیدی کجاز انریدون گورد ستمکارہ ضحاک نازی چہ بُرد

¹ Tirmizī, Chap. "Abwāb ul Amṣāl".

² Muntakhab ut Tawārikh, Vol. I, p. 35.

earliest relationship which existed in the Pre-Islāmic era, we see that a still closer bond of union subsisted between the peoples of the two great countries at the birth of the Prophet of Islām and at the landing of the 'Arabs in Sindh.

Persia's fondness for the Sanskrit story of *Kalilah-Damnab* and the favour shown by the Persian monarch, Anūshīrwān the Great, in deputing a special envoy, Barzawaih, who was a scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, to secure Persian translations of this and several other books of Sanskrit, is a fact of history. The editor of the Arabic version of *Kalilah-Damnab* describes the great Persian enterprise in the following words:—

¹ ظلّ هذا الكتاب محفوظاً في خزائن ملوك الهند يحترقون عليه حرصهم على انمن الكنوز لا يسكنون لسواهم بالاطلاع عليه غير ما تقدم من نقله الى التيبية حتى القرن السادس الميلاد لما انقضى عرش فارس الى كسرى انوشروان و كان محبا لاسباب الاصلاح و اخذ في نقل العلم و الادب فبلغه خبر هذا الكتاب فاستشار خاصة في رجل يبعث به لهذه المهمة يكون عارفا باللسانين السنسكريتي والفارسي مع علم و فلسفة فاختاروا له طبيباً فيلسوفاً اسمه برزويه ابن ازهر فاسرائيه امر الكتاب و حرصه على نقله و نقل ما يتيسر من علوم الهند التي ليس في اللغة الفارسية شيء منها و امدّه بما يحتاج اليه في سبيل ذلك الغرض فسافر برزويه بعشرين جرّاً ابا من المال كل جرّاب فيه عشرة آلاف دينار حتى قدم بلاد الهند فاجل يجالس الحكماء و يستأل

¹ Introduction, p. 22, Cairo.

خواص الملك و جلساءه من العلماء و الفلاسفة و يوههم انه رجل غريب قدم بلادهم لطلب العلم والادب و انه محتاج الى معونتهم و لم يزل كذلك وهو يبحث سرا عن مكان ذلك الكتاب فى خبر طويل استخدم فيه دهاءه و درايته حتى ظفر بالكتاب و نقله من اللسان الهندى السنسكرىتى الى اللسان الفارسى و هو يومئذ الفهلوى و نقل غيره من كتب العلم و عاد الى انوشيروان فاجازته بالاموال و البسة التاج و جلس على سريره تشريفاته و زيادة فى اجلاله -

“This book was preserved in the treasures of the kings of Hindūstān and guarded like a most cherished treasure. No one could get a clue to it until the sixth century A. D., when the throne of Persia passed to Kisrā Anūshirwān. During this period once only was access had to it when it was translated into the Tibetan language. He loved peaceful means and the pursuit of knowledge and literature. The news of this book reached his ears, and so he consulted his courtiers on the problem of finding a man who could be sent on this enterprise—one who should be well versed in Sanskrit and Persian, and be a sound student of philosophy. So they selected for him a physician who was also a philosopher whose name was Barzawaih ibn Azhar. Anūshirwān then divulged to him the secret of his desire for this book, and urged him to secure a copy thereof and also of other sciences of India which he could obtain access to and of which nothing then existed in the Persian language. He provided him with the necessary material for the achievement of this object. So

Barzawaih set out on his journey with twenty bags of provisions in each of which there were ten thousand *dinārs* until he arrived in India. Here he used to sit in the company of the learned, and sought to find out the favourites of the king and his chief associates from among the learned and the philosophers; and he made them understand that he was a stranger who came to their cities for the purpose of acquiring their knowledge and literature, and that he needed their help and support. He continued to do this, and secretly tried to discover, in the course of his long inquiries and searches, the location of this book which was the custodian of their intellect and wisdom, till at last he succeeded in gaining access to it and in translating it from Sanskrit into Persian or *Pahlawī*. Besides this, he copied other books of Hindī learning, and returned with them to Anūshīr-wān who rewarded him with cash and property, and put on his head the crown, and made him sit on his throne to exalt his rank and add to his glory."

The present work, however, does not concern itself with the earliest and almost forgotten relationship which existed between India and Persia in ancient times. It restricts its inquiry to the age which witnessed the appearance of Arabicised Persian on the stage of Indian life in the wake of the Muslim conquest of India. It is, thus, primarily concerned with the distinctive nature of the culture and the literature which the Arabicised Persian has been instrumental in

bringing into existence in India.

We have characterised the language that came to India along with the Muslim conquerors as *Arabicised Persian*. This observation needs some explanation.

Picture the world as it was a little before the rise of the 'Arabs. By the end of the sixth century A. D., the world had witnessed revolutions everywhere, some of them being epoch-making, as every student of history knows. Restricting our attention to the cultural upheavals and changes made possible by these revolutions, the following phenomena stand out prominently. The early, perhaps the original, Persian had disappeared from Persia, and a rapid succession of dynasties had effected a complete transformation in matters cultural, religious and linguistic for the Persian people. In India, one finds that the classical Sanskrit ceases to be a living language and a new language called *Prākṛit* becomes the common speech. Europe, at this time, was fast sinking into a deep slumber from which it was to rise at the Renaissance.

Such was the state of affairs all over the world with regard to culture, when the 'Arabs ventured out of their desert home into the wide world, with the banner of Islām in their hands. It could be easily imagined what a time of upheaval this period of revolution must have been for the languages and cultures of the then civilised world. In the inundation caused by the rising 'Arab power, reinforced by

religious zeal, not merely did the principalities such as Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, Sudān and Zanjbār suffer shipwreck, but even the civilization of these lands was completely swept away. This, however, cannot be said of Persia. Persian culture and language alone escaped shipwreck. Perhaps it was not possible for the 'Arab culture to swamp the culture of Persia. In fact, Persian, which firmly resisted the Arabic advance, refused to merge itself into Arabic culture. The critical times which Persian had to pass through for its survival, compels recognition of the fact that the Persian language possesses some unusual virility and virtues to have resisted the cataclysmic onslaughts of Arabic. In this connection we ought to bear in mind that Persian is an off-shoot of the Aryan language; while Arabic is of Semitic descent. Thus the difference between the two is one of kind rather than of degree. Barring the interchange of nouns, they are distinct from each other in their syntax and verbs, with little possibility of modifying each other.

With the end of the Rāshidiyyah Caliphate and the break-up of the kingdom of Medinah, the Umayyids set up their throne in Syria, which had been for a long time a noted centre for classical learning, particularly Greek and Latin. When Syria became an 'Arab principality, the greatest benefit in the way of culture she received from her new masters was provision for recitals from the Holy Qur'ān and from

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet, while at the same time a stimulus was given to Arabic poetry. Thus says the 'Arab historian, 'Abdu'l Raḥmān al Maghribī, on the authority of Qāẓī Sā'id Undulūsī:

١ قال القاضي صاعد بن أحمد الأندلسي أن العرب في صدر الإسلام لم تعن بشئ من العلوم إلا بلغتها و معرفة أحكام شريعتها فهذه كانت حال العرب في الدولة الأموية -

Qāẓī Sā'id bin Aḥmad Undulūsī said, "Verily the 'Arabs in the beginning of Islām did not pay attention to any branch of knowledge except their own literature and the study of the commandments of religion; and such was the condition of the 'Arabs during the rule of the Umayyids."

The inevitable effect of such an educational system was the quick replacement of the classical learning of Greece and Rome, and their civilization in Syria by those of Arabia: Arabic becoming, in due course, the language of the Syrians, whether Muslims, Jews or Christians. What is true of Syria is equally true of other lands conquered by the 'Arabs. The impact of Arabic on the language of the 'Arab-conquered territories resulted either in the total disappearance of the native tongues or in their complete transformation. For an illustration of the total disappearance

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, Chap. Daulat ul 'Abbāsīn.

of a language as a result of the superimposition of Arabic, the reader may be reminded that the language of Egypt and Tripoli was Coptic before the 'Arab conquest of these lands, yet there was little trace of Coptic left soon after the 'Arab occupation, and Arabic, instead, became the court language.

In regard to the way in which the language of the 'Arab conquerors and settlers influenced and transformed the native tongues of the conquered lands, the present linguæ of Madagascar, Jāvā, Mālay, Malābār and Sindh may be examined. The influence of Arabic is clearly noticeable on the language of each of these territories, even after a period of thirteen hundred years.

The 'Arabs attempted a similar cultural experiment in Persia also, though with little success. The Persian language, because of its inherent qualities, such as softness, enchanting accent and melody, gradually enslaved 'Arab settlers in Persia, and drew them further and further away from their mother tongue. They eagerly accepted the Persian speech as their language for business or art. Surprising though it may appear, a considerable number of Persian words, expressions and phrases crept into Arabic itself, as any Arabic lexicon will testify. More striking still is the manner in which the 'Arab conquerors in Persia allowed themselves to be conquered by Persian in regard to culture and literary art, a phenomenon not unlike what happened to

Rome after she conquered Greece. The cultural relation of Persia with Arabia is a case of the captive capturing the captor.¹

The influence of Persian over Arabic, as a matter of fact, had begun to be felt even before the rise of Islām. For a justification of this remark, one has to notice Persian words and ideas used in the verse of the un-lettered 'Arab poets. Persian words and Persian sentiments found their way in the Arabic of Arabia at the time when the Ghassāns held sway over the north-western borders of Arabia, and eastern Arabia was ruled by the descendants of Nu'mān and Kandah. The Ghassāns were under Roman influence, whereas the rulers of Eastern Arabia owed allegiance to the Sāsānīds. The religion of the former was Christianity, and that of the latter Zoroastrianism tinged with belief in Greek mythology and Greek conception of deities. Through the agency of these two 'Arab kingdoms, the social and cultural tendencies of Greece, Rome and Persia were at work, and their influence extended far beyond their boundaries from the coasts of Arabia down to Yemen to the extreme South-West. But it is strange that Arabic did not assimilate as many Greek and Latin words and idioms as those of Persian. A fairly large number of Persian expressions and sentiments had become part of the texture of the Arabic

¹ Ibid, Muqaddimah.

language even before the rise of Islām in Arabia. For example, the word مَرَج in Arabic is derived from the Persian word مَرغ سراج from چراغ; لجام from لکام; بائق from تبر; خَوْدَة from خود; طبر from تیر; منسک from مشک; خسرو from کسروی; جَوهر from گوهر; باد from باد; پیل from فیل; مَوْبَد from موبد; سَتون from ستون; (اکسره) (plural فیلَة); ناخدا from ناخدا (which is in reality (ناوِخدا); جَزِيه from گزیه; خِفْتان from قِفْتان; طنبوره from کنده; خندق from آسان گون; سَنان from جو; برد from صرنايه; کمان from جهان; درگاه from درگاه; دَنبِه from جَوَر; رَسْتَه from رُذَق; می پخته from مَيَفَخْتَه; سرنای (plural نایه from نایچه; زنجفیل from زنجبیل; گوساله from فرمان, تخت, ایوان, فُلل, بستان; (نوافج and words such as تاج, تَرَنج, خنجر, بَغمه definitely imported into Arabic, prior to the days of the Holy Qur'ān¹.

¹ The Persian word مَرغ (from which is formed مَرغزار) was identified as مَرَج in Arabic, and its plural مَرُوج was formed in accordance with Arabic grammar. The historian, Mas'ūdī, gave the name مَرُوج الذهب to one of his famous historical works. The words جَزِيه, فیل, مِسک, زنجبیل and سراج are used in the Qur'ān, cf.:—

Immediately after the advent of Islām, when the 'Arabs as a nation had no love or use for the Sāsānian culture, the 'Arab poets began to make use of Persian expressions and sentiments in their compositions. This assertion finds its proof in the elegy of the well-known 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of

(i)	حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون	Chap. 10,	Rk. 10
(ii)	ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل	” 30	” 30
(iii)	يسقون من دحيق مختوم ختامه مسك	” 30	” 8
(iv)	و يسقون فيها كأساً كان مزاجها زنجبيلا	” 29	
(v)	تبارك الذي جعل في السماء بروجا وجعل فيها سراجا وقمرا منيرا -	” 19	” 4

لِجَام is found recorded in the Traditions and the works of the early poets, cf:

عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من سئل عن علم علمه ثم كتبه ألجم بلجام من نار -

(Mishkāt, Kitāb ul'Ilm)

Also, cf. the verse:

وما أسن بركت عليه كان مناخها ملقى لِجَام

تَاج occurs in a *qasīdah* of 'Umar ibn Kulṣūm, cf.:

و سَهِدَ معشر قد توجهوا محتاج الملك يصمى السجهرينا

فَيْفَل is used by Imra'ul Qais in the following verse:—

تري بعرا لرم في عرصاتها وتبعانها كانه حب فلفل

Other words are common in the writings of the 'Arab poets of the first century and the pre-Islāmic days.

Yemen, who wrote after the invasion of the border lands of India by Ziyād's son, 'Abbād, in 59 A.H. Witness one of Ibn Mufarrigh's verses in the elegy just named :

١كم بالجزوم و ارض الهند من قدم و من سراينك قتلى لا هم قبرا

What a large number of followers in the tropical regions and in India's land,
And from among soldiers, lost their lives, who
were denied even a tomb!

In this verse, جُزوم is the plural of جَرْم which is the Persian گرم in Arabic dress; and similarly سراينك is the Arabic rendering of the Persian word سرهنگ. But the word سرهنگ in its original form is also used by the 'Arab historians.² This should serve as an illustration of the manner in which Persian words invaded the Arabic vocabulary. It further points out to the fact that Persian words entered the Arabic vocabulary and came to India through the agency of the Arabic language. In the works written by the Persians in Arabic, one comes across countless Persian terms without any modification in their original form. For example, Avicenna, in his works on

¹ Balāzuri, Futūh ul Buldān, Chapter on Sindh.

² Cf: و وصل عماد الدولة سرهنگ معاونين الى واسط و منها الى النيل
في شهر رمضان

(Tārikh Āl Saljūq, p. 71, Egypt).

medicine, makes use of such terms as البستاني , السلجم , النيم برشت , الفلفل and the like with the Arabic signification of ال prefixed to them. Also, he uses دارنفل which is a pure Persian compound, even without the Arabic sign.¹ As regards the Persian sentiments in Arabic literature, one should read the elegiac poems of Abū Dulāmah, Buhturī and Mutanabbī. These poems are impregnated with Persian thought, and are composed in the Persian manner after the pattern of conventional elegiac odes. To make this point more clear and definite, it may be pointed out that the Arabic elegy is content with an account of the dead hero's virtues, such as valour, lineage and hospitality, to preserve his memory in the world. But on the other hand, the aforementioned 'Arab poets exhibit Persian colour in their elegies in a striking manner. They are fond of such imagery as "the cloud shed tears", "the sun sprinkled blood on the earth through its rays," "the eye wept, and people smeared their heads with dust," "they tore their hair", "they wore mourning dress, and drenched it with tears of blood" and many other idioms or forms of imagery which

¹ Cf : اما البروز فمثل بروز السلجم والفوتنج البستاني , والفلفل و دار نفل
(Al Qānūn, Vol. III, p. 430, Lucknow).

Also, of :

والصف منها أجنحة الغراريج والطياهيح , والنيم برشت الرقيق القوام
(Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 37).

resemble Persian conceits, as is evidenced in the national custom of mourning in Persia, which Firdausi has depicted in his immortal epic. Witness the scene on the death of Suhrāb at the hands of Rustam, who lived in the Achaemenian period (B.C. 550); therein one finds several lines which enshrine the ancient custom of Persian mourning:

به پرده سراے آنش اندر زدند همه لشکرهاں خاک بر سر زدند
 فغانش زایوان به کیوان رسید همن زار بگریست هرکس شنید
 تنش را بدان نا مداران نمود تو گفتی که از چرخ برخاست دود
 ببوشید آن جامه نیلگون همه نیلگون غرق گشته بخون

Similar sentiments are to be found in an ode of the 'Arab poet, Abū Dulāmah, which shows the steady influence of Persian culture on the 'Arab writers. This ode is an elegy inasmuch as it refers to the death of the Caliph Ja'far al Maṣṣūr 'Abbāsī and is at the same time a congratulatory poem in so far as it refers to his son Muḥammad al Mahdī's accession to the throne. The following verses from this ode will bear on the point we have noticed:

عینای واحدی تری مسروره. بامیوها جزای و آخری تذرف
 تبکی و تضحک تاره و یسوها ما انکرت و یسرها ما تعرف
 فیسوها مروت الخلیفه محروما و یسرها ان قام هذا یخلف
 ما ان رأیت کما رأیت ولا اری شعرا اسرحه و آخر انتف
 هذا حباه الله فضل خلافة و لاک جنات النعیم تو خرف

I have two eyes: one is full of joy,
 Because of my Caliph, and the other weeps;
 It weeps and expresses joy betimes, and what
 causes it to grieve
 Is that which it considers ill, and what pleases
 it is that which it considers good;
 So, the death of the Caliph Mansūr, which oc-
 curred while he was in the pilgrim's dress,
 grieves the one,
 And al-Mahdi's succession to the Caliphate plea-
 ses the other;
 What I have seen now, I did not see before, nor
 shall I see hereafter,
 That I comb my hair with joy on the one hand,
 and tear it in grief on the other;
 May God grant this king the excellence of the
 Caliphate,
 And for that king (the deceased), may Paradise be
 adorned.

The works of Mutanabbī contain sometimes
 verses the texture of which is essentially Persian, for
 instance:

لم يهك نائلك السحاب و أنا حست به نصيبها الرضا

The cloud could not rival thy generosity, and for
 this reason,
 It was ashamed, thereby augmenting its tem-
 perature; thus the rain, which fell from it,
 is its perspiration.

Such a subtle fancy or delicate imagery is foreign to the taste of Arabic verse, and such conceits are not to be discovered therein prior to the day when Persian cast its spell on 'Arab authors. In some of the Arabic prose-writings also, which belong to the early period, the Persian metaphors, similes and conceits appear to play a considerable part. This is explained by the fact that some of the authors were either born in Persia, or they had some intimate intercourse with the Persian people, thus leaving them open to the influence of Persian culture. This observation finds its justification in the pages of the recognised historian Imām 'Imāduddīn al Kātib's famous work, the *Tārīkh Āl Saljūq*. Here is a passage from it:—

¹ ولت يوم الخميس الخميسان يعينان ولداعى النون يلبيان والشمس
تشكو حرما تصاعد اليها من زفرات الحقاد و كأنها شعاعها دم اراقته على الاناق -

And both the contending armies fought enthusiastically on Thursday, welcoming death all the while; and the Sun was perturbed with the heated breath which rose from the animosity and fierce rage of the contending forces, as if its rays were like drops of blood which it had sprinkled on the Universe.

During the rule of Banū 'Abbās, the influence of

¹ *Tārīkh Āl Saljūq*, p. 69.

Persian on Arabic began to be felt still more perceptibly. The *Muwallidīns* gave further stimulus to the growing hold of Persian language and culture on the 'Arabs, with the result that the Court of the Caliphs adopted the Persian nobility's style of living along with their acceptance of the Sāsānīd splendour. The well-known Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī's affecting the Persian kings' mode of life is a case in point. This Caliph kept eighteen thousand Turkish slaves as his body-guard, and made them wear silk uniform and gold necklaces after the fashion of the Persian kings.¹

In the days just referred to, the residence of the Caliphs was termed *دربار*²; the pay and Accounts offices were called *دفت*³; the pleasure-garden was known as *بستان*⁴, the bouquet which the florist presented to his master was called *دستنبویه*⁵; the slave-girls of the *harem* were named *بستان*⁶ and *نرجس*; the liquors which they drank in the hour of their mirth at social gatherings was called *شراب خسروانی*⁷,

¹ Cf: *وكان المعتمد سيد الراي . . . وكان يتشبه بملوك الاعاجم و بلغ
علمائه الاتراك ثمانية عشر الفا و البسهم اطواق الذهب والديباغ -*

(Ibn Khaldūn, *Caliphate of Mu'tasim Billāh*).

² Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 154.

³ Ibid, " p. 18.

⁴ Ibid, V, p. 85.

⁵ Ibid, XVIII, p. 22.

⁶ Ibid, " p. "

⁷ Cf. the verse of an 'Arab poet, Ibrāhīm bin Abī Muḥam-

and their cup-bearer offered them the wine-cup with the words "يامردمى خور"¹; and for their recreation they played the game of شطرنج or نردشهر². The people nick-named the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, who succeeded to the caliphate in 136 A.H., ابو الدنانيق³, (father of farthings) because of his miserliness: the term being coined from the Persian word دانگ meaning *farthing*. The 'Arab poet, Laqīt bin Zūrārah, named his daughter, who also

mad Yazīdī of the Court of Caliph al-Māmūn :—

اشرب على وجه جان شرايك الخسروانى

¹ Cf. another poet Ishāq al Mūsālī writing to Mūsa bin Sālīh :

إذا قال لى "يامردمى خور" و كرها على و كنانى مزاحا بصفان

(Ibid, Vol. V, p. 80).

² The first Ibrāhīm says again :

أن لم يكن عندى غناء ولا عود فعندى القمر بالنود شهر

(Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 92).

³ دانیق is the plural of دانق which is the Arabic form of the persian word دانى signifying a very small coin. It was also a weight of six grains used in Persia. The historian, Ibn Khaldūn, makes the following observation in regard to this title :

وكان مبخلا يضرب بشكاه الامثال فسمى لبخله "ابو الدنانيق"

لمحاسبة العمال والصناع على الدانق والعبئة -

(Account of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr).

subsequently became a poetess of repute, دُخْتُ نُوس¹. The pawn in Arabic was called بَيْدَق which is derived from the Persian پیاده. The 'Arabs in Persia used the Persian term هزار مرد² to designate their brave men. They called their Caliph's throne تَخْتُ الْمَلِك, using the Persian term تخت with the Arabic word مَلِك. The Persian Princes were named مَرِّ زَبَان by the 'Arabs, which is again a Persian term; and the landlords were called دِهْقَان³ (which is دِهْكَان⁴ or دِهْ خَان⁵). Also their plurals were formed مَرَّازِبِه and دِهَاتِيْن in true Arabic style. Again, when they wanted to describe the finery of their dress, they chose to apply to it the

¹ This is the Arabicised form of دُخْتُ نُوس which was the name of the daughter of the famous Persian king Kisrā Anūshīr-wān, the Great.

(‘Abdul ‘Aziz Memon, *Simt ul’La’ālī*, Vol. II, p. 835, Cairo, 1936).

² It is the epithet of ‘Uṣmān bin Hafs bin ‘Uṣmān, Cf :

ثم ولي ثغر السند عمر بن حفص بن عثمان هزار مرد

(Balāzurī, *Futūh ul Buldān*, Chap. 4). Also see Āghānī

Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

³ Firdausī has used this expression in the sense of ‘the old man of the village,’ who is supposed to be a well-informed and a wise man.

⁴ A ‘rustic’; ‘a true type of a villager.’

⁵ The lord of the village.

epithets ازدر and بهارالشجر¹, which are Persian similes; their hospitals were called بیمارستان and مارستان²; their gate-keepers were called در وکیل³; the quatrain in Arabic prosody is still called درویتی. The name given to Constantinople was آستانةالعلیه, which is a compound word formed by prefixing the Persian noun آستانه to the Arabic adjective علیّه; the Persian terms کوس and کافرکوبه meaning *drum* and *club*, and the Persian word مرد were commonly used by the 'Arab writers⁴; the word باز meaning *hawk*, شاکرد (معرب شاجرد) and گردن (معرب کورد) were also borrowed from Persian, and

¹ Cf. the verse of Bakr bin Nattāh of Rashid bin 'Abdul Malik's reign:

لِیَالِی کُنت ازدرالقیان کان ثیابی بهارالشجر
(Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 159).

² Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 39.

³ Cf. وکان وکیلدرالسلطان فی وزارة سعدالملک امیرالقرظینی المعروف بالزکی -

(Tārīkh Āl Saljūq, p. 85).

⁴ Cf. فان السلطان عقد علی فخرالدولة بن جهیر دیار بحر و خلع علیّه :
و اعطاه الکوس والعلم -

(Ibid, p. 69).

also Cf :

وَوَلَّهْنِی وَقَعَ الْاِسْنَةُ وَالْقَنَا وَكَافِر كُوبَاتٍ لَهَا عِجْرٌ قَفْذُ
بایدی رجال ما کلامی کلامهم یسوموننی مرد او ما انا والمرد

(Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. 1, p. 80).

included in Arabic vocabulary;¹ and similarly numerous other words, simple and compound, crept into the Arabic language. Of the Persian words which found their way into the Arabic lexicon, as a result of the religious unity between Arabia and Persia in the earliest period of Islāmic history, some from the works of travel, history, medicine and literature are reproduced here to serve as an illustration:²

¹ Cf. the verse : كَسَتْهُ شَعَا عَلَى الْمَتَكِبِ إِذَا نَظَرَ الْبَازُ فِي عَطَفَةٍ
(Mutanabbi, Vol. 1, p. 105, Cairo).

also Cf. : وَمَا كُنْتُ شَاجِرْدًا وَلَا كُنْ حَسْبَتَنِي

إِذَا مِسْحَلٌ سَدَّى لِي الْقَوْلَ أَوْ نَطَقَ

(A'shā, Diwān, Gibb. memo. series, Vol. IV, p. 148).

ضَرْبَنَاهُ دُونَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ عَلَى الْكُرْدِ

(فَرَزْدَقُ)

قَالَ أَبُو مَنْصُورِ الْاِثْنَيْنِ هَذَا الْاِثْنَانِ وَالْكَرْدُ الْعَنْقُ

(Shihābuddīn Aḥmad, Shifā'ul Ghalīl, p. 192).

² Among the works consulted in the preparation of this and the previous lists, the following were most helpful:—

1. Balāzuri's فتوح البلدان
2. Avicenna's القانون and طبقات الاطبا
3. 'Imāduddīn al Kātib Isfahānī's تاريخ آل سلجوق
4. Abul Faraj Isfahānī's أغاني
5. Jāhiz's البيان والتبيين
6. Jawālīqī's المعرب من الكلام الأعجبي and
7. Dr. Arnold's سراء السبيل

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
مَوْزَجْ	موزه	أَرْجَوَانْ	أَرْغَوَانْ
فَالْوَدْجْ - فَالْوَدَجْ	پاوده	خَنْكَارْ	خون‌گار
بَسْبَرْ	بَسِرْ	تَرَاذِيْ	ترازو
بَسْدَقْ	فَسْدَقْ	بَابُونِجْ	بابونه
جَرْدَبَانْ	گردبان	خِيَارْ شَذِرْ	خیار چنبر
بَوْدَقَهْ	بوته	بَاذَنْجَانْ	بادنگان
جَرْدَقْ وَ جَرْدَقَهْ	گَرْدَهْ - گَرْدَهْ	تَرَنْجَبِيْنْ	ترانکبین
قَنْجْ	قنباکو	دَخْدَارْ	تخت‌دار
بَوْدِيَهْ	بودیه	دِيْبَاچْ	دیبا
فَوْتَنْجْ	پودینه	جَامُوشْ	گاو‌میش
بَنْفَسَجْ	بنفشه	جُوعَهْ	چوغه
جَلَنَارْ	گلنار	نَرَجِسْ	نرگس
فَنَزَجْ	پنبجه	جَنْبَازْ	جل‌باز
جَوَارِشْ	گوارش	جَرْمُوقْ	سرموزه
خُشَافْ	خوش‌آب	دَوْدَانِیْ	دوده
بِرْكَارْ	پَرْكَارْ	تَبَانْ	تنبان
بُورَقْ	بوده	جَلَنْسَرِيْنْ	مُكَلْ نَسَرِيْنْ
أَبْرِیْسَمْ	ابریشم	جَلَنْجَبِيْنْ	مُكَلْ أَنْكَبِيْنْ
دَمَقْ	دمه	فَیْلَمْ	پیلَه
		جَلَّابْ	مُكَلْ آبْ

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
ششم	چشم	بَاس	پوسه
ساحفَة	سولخ پای	جُرَّان	گریبان
مردا سنج	مردار سنگ	نیروز	نوردوز
ستوق	سه تو	طشت	طست
زنجفار	شنجرف	سَنَجَة	سنگ
سکبه	سرکه و آب	بَد خانَه	بِت خانه
صرمیه	سر مایه	شطار	چپتر
کوز	کوزه	گشتبان	انگشتوانه
سرایه	سرای	سَقَرِ قَعَه	سکرگه
کاخ	کاخ	زِرِ جَوْن	زدگون
ردز چاری	ردز گاری	جزر	گزر
شهرج	شهره	سَنَهَادِخ	سنباده
دولاب	دول آب	زَرِنِهَخ - زَرِنِهَق	زرنه
صوم	چرم	اِسْفِیداح	سپیده
فستق	پسته	هَنَدَسَه	اندازه
زمرن	زمرن	نِهَرِک	نهره
کمنجه	کمانچه	اُسْتان	اُستان
لازوردن	لاجوردن	سَرَدَابَه	سرداب
کونج	کاخ	رَنَدِج	رنده
گر بسج	گر به	سَرِ جَوْن	سرگهن

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
شِشْمَه	چشمه	جَلِسْتَان - قُلَسْتَان	گلستان
سِرْدَال	شلوار	هِنْدَام	اندام
بِیَّادِی	پیاده	فَرَسَخ	فرسنگ
امیرِ آخور	میرِ آخور	یَارِج	یاره
زَنَزَلَتْ	آزاد درخت	نِیلِج	نیلہ
قُولَد	پولاد	اَنَسُوذَج	نمونه
سِبَاهِی	سپاہی	مُومِیَّہ	مومہائی
صَنَار	چنار	صَوْبِج	چوبہ
قَلَنْدَر	قرندل	مَہِتَار	مہتر
نَرَجِیل	نارگیل	شَاکَرِی	چاکر
جَلَّ	گُل	شِہْرَاز	شہرآزہ
بَابُوج	پاپوہن		

Besides this, many Persian words are to be found in Arabic writings in their original form, for example:—

تُرکْمَن - مِیخَانہ - نِیلُوْفَر - قَہْرَمَان - نَازہ - اَفیون - دِہلیز - دَہنہ -
تَخْتِ رول - زَرَاب - زَنْدِیق - سَادہ - شَلغم - شَاہترہ - شِہرہ -
شَاہ - شَاہانہ - صَدَل - تَبَر - فَرْزِیں - کَتخدا - کَارخانہ - مومیا -
کوسہ - کَہرَبَا - پَرسیا و شان -

This is not all. From contemporary writings

it appears that in the reign of Banū ‘Abbās, the courtiers not only understood Persian but wrote and conversed in it in their homes, in evidence of which may be cited the name of the ‘Arab writer Ibn Manāẓir. In a satire on one of the nobles, Muḥammad bin ‘Abdul Wahhāb, he wrote:

وقال الشيخ سر جريه "داء البرء من تحت"¹

And Shaikh Sarjūyah said, "Man's disease begins from below."

Sarjūyah was an authority on medical matters, and was a recognised physician. When this remark, with its authorship assigned to him, reached his ears, he feared that Muḥammad bin ‘Abdul Wahhāb would be offended with him. To check this impression he forthwith betook himself to the nobleman's house, where he found the latter sitting with a large party of men, and gave vent to the following significant Persian speech which was understood by all:

بر گسٔ من نه گفتم آن پسر مناذر گفت²

I never said this concerning any one; that was said by Ibn Manāẓir.

The audience at these words burst into laughter.

¹ Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 19.

² Ibid.

Sarjūyah felt that the audience's laughter was an expression of their distrust in his words. He therefore repeated his speech many times and on oath.

The 'Arab scholars in particular had acquired good knowledge of Persian. Some even taught Arabic literature through the Persian medium. One such instance is Mūsā al-Uswārī who interpreted the verses of the Qur'ān in Persian¹ in public gatherings. Within two hundred years of the 'Arab conquest of Persia, by the time when the linguistic and religious unity between the two nations had assumed a permanency, Persian civilization and ideals began to be clearly perceived in Arabic letters; and the taste for Persianisms became so popular with the poets and scholars of Arabic by the third and the fourth centuries A. H. that Persian verse compositions were freely rendered into Arabic verse in 'Arab territories. Many instances of this from the works of the poets, writing in the days of the Tāhirīds and the Sāmānīds, could be cited. Take, for example, the following verses from a Persian ode by Mansūr bin 'Alī Mantiqī Rāzi:

یک موی پدر دیدم از دو زلفت چون زلف زدی ای صنم بشانه
چونانش بستختی همی کشیدم چون مور که گندم کشد بخانه
با موی بخانه شدم پدر گفت منصور کدام است ازین دوگانه

They were rendered into Arabic at the instance

¹ Jāhiz, al Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. I, p. 196.

of Abul Qāsim Ismā'il bin 'Abbād bin 'Abbās bin 'Abbād al-Vazīr, surnamed "صاحب کافی النفاة"

سر قت من طرته شَعْرَةً حين غدا يشطها بالمشاط
ثم تدلكت بها مثقالا تدلح النمل بحب الحنطاط
قال أبي من و لدى منكما كلا كما يدخل سم الخياط

Another instance is to be found in the following Persian verses of Muḥammad bin Sālīh:—

سیم دندانک و بس دانک و خندانک و شوخ
که جهان آنک بر مانبِ او زندان کرد
لبِ او بینی و گوئی که کسے زیرِ عقیق
با میانِ دو گل اندر شکرے پنهان کرد

They were done into Arabic by Abul Qāsim bin Abul 'Abbās Isfarā'inī thus:—

فَضِي ثَغْرٍ، لَيْبِبُ ضاحِك عِزَمٍ مِنْ عَشْقٍ مَبْسُومَةٍ اصْبَحْتَ مَسْجُونًا
بَسَكْرٍ قَدْ رَأَيْتَ الْيَوْمَ مَبْسُومَةٍ تَكْتِ الْعَقِيقُ بِذَاكَ الْوَرْدِ مَكْنُونًا

Again, Abū Shakūr Balkhī's following Persian quatrain :

از دور بدیدارِ تو نگریستم اندر مجروح شد آن چهرهٔ پر حسن و ملاحت
وز غمزهٔ تو خسته شد آزرده دل من و زین حکم قضایست جراحت بجراحت

was put into Arabic verse as follows:—

وَمَتَّك عَنْ حُكْمِ الْقَضَاءِ بِنَظَرَةٍ وَ مَالِي عَنْ حُكْمِ الْقَضَائِصِ مَنَاصِ
فَلَمَّا جَرَحْتَ الْخَدَّ مِنْكَ بِمَقْلَتِي جَرَحْتَ نَوَآدِي وَالْجُرُوحِ قِصَاصِ

The following Persian verse from an ode of the Persian poet Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ma'rūfī of the court of the Sāmānīd king, Mansūr bin Nūh, was once read before the 'Arab poet Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad of Baghdād:

خون سپید بآرم بر دَرِ خانِ زردم آرد سپید باشد خونِ دلِ مصعد¹

He at once gave it an Arabic dress, and incorporated it into one of his odes. The Arabic rendering is as follows:—

وكان دما فا بيض منه احمراره بنارالتصاى حين فاض مصعد²

Often entire Persian poems and proverbs were rendered into Arabic verse. The author of the *Dumyat ul Qasr* and the famous 'Arab writer, Şa'ālībī, have collected some such pieces. Here, for instance, is a line from an ode of Abū 'Abdullāh Abīverdī:—

و من عقق قدرا م مشية قبة فانسى مشاء و لم يمش كالعجل²

Some other notable Persian proverbs, which were rendered into Arabic verse, may here be transcribed along with their Arabic dress:—

¹ Yatīmat ud Dahr, Vol. III, p. 164.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 25.

Persian	Arabic
.... شب است آبستنی بینم چه زاید	اللیل حبلى لیس یدری مایلد
.... خاک از توده کلاں بردار	إذا وضعت على الأراض التراب فضع من أعظم التل أن النفع منه يقع
.... آفتاب به گل اندودن نتوان	الشمس با لتطيين لا تعطى
.... چون آب از سرگزشت چه یک نهزه چه یک دست	إذا الماء فوق غريق طما فقاب قناة و ألف سواد

Also, instances of mixed Arabic-Persian verses by the 'Arab poets who flourished in the third century A. H. are noticeable! One good specimen by Aswad bin Abī Karīmah is as follows:—

بُكْرَةً فِي يَوْمِ سَبْتِ	¹ لَسِزِمَ السَّوَامُ نَوْبِي
میل زنی بمست (بمستی)	قَتَمَا يَلَيْتُ عَلَيْهِم
أَوْ عَقَارَ أَبَا يَخْشَعُ (بایغ است)	قَدْ حَسَا الدَّائِي صِرْفَا
و یحکم آن خو گفت (خو)	نَمِ گفتم ذو زیاد
أَهْلُ صِنْعَاءَ بَحَفَتْ	إِنَّ جِلْدِي د بَغْتَهُ
آن کور یز نمست	و أُو عَمْرَةَ عِنْدِي
أَيَا عَمْنُ بَنَشْتِ	جَالِسِ أُنْدَرِ مَكْنَادِ

¹ Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. 1, p. 80.

Section 2:—The first glimmerings of Persian in India; relations between the ‘Arabs and the Hindūs; the unprejudiced mind of the Rājās and the ‘Arab conquest of Sindh.

The inevitable effect of the ‘Arab fondness for the Persian language, as evidenced by the annexation of Persian terminology to the Arabic vocabulary, was that the two languages found themselves getting into an ever-increasing closer bond. This close relation was felt even in India for the simple reason that the governors of Sindh were appointed and sent from Khurāsān.¹ Soon after the Persian families and the ‘Arabs residing in Persia came to Sindh, they found themselves pre-occupied with a taste for the native tongue to such a degree that they even produced poets writing in Hindī, and their works were appreciated by the people and well received at the courts of the Hindū Rājās. The ‘Arab families that had settled in Sindh knew Prākritis well, and their poets composed poems both in Hindī and Arabic. Among them may be mentioned a young ‘Arab resident of Maṣūrah, the capital of Sindh, who had composed a *qasīdah* in the current Prākrit in praise of Rājā Mahrūg of Alūrā,² a city on the east bank of

¹ Since the days of the Umayyids, all the Muslim territories east of Arabia were under the sway of the governors of Baṣrah; while the administration of Sindh was entrusted to the rulers of Khurāsān. (Kāmil Ibn Aṣīr.)

² Buzurg bin Shahryār, ‘Ajā’ib ul Hind, p. 4, Leyden.

the Indus in Upper Sindh. This poem was so much appreciated by the Rājā that he sent a special messenger to escort the young poet to the court, where he was greatly honoured and rewarded. He further translated the Holy Qur'ān into Hindī at the desire of the Rājā, having stayed for three years at the royal court as State guest.¹ The contemporary geographers and historians of 'Arab descent, who travelled through Persia to Hindūstān, have commented on the life of the Muslims in Sindh in those days. They observed that the feeling of amity and fellowship between the Muslims and the Hindūs was so stable that the 'Arabs in Sindh became united with the Hindūs, and followed the Indian customs and ceremonies spontaneously. They took for their wives Indian women, showed their liking for the spoken tongues, and readily adopted the Indian titles and Hindī names.² It goes without saying that considerable modifications were effected in the spoken Arabic and the Indian languages current in the districts scattered between Multān and the Arabian sea, obviously as a result of the Hindū-Muslim cultures coming in close contact with each other. The point which emerges from this, which is of interest to us here, is that it was really the Persian language and

¹ Ibid.

² Bashshārī, *Ahsan ut Taqāsīm*, Chap. on Sind, Leyden, 1906.

culture which took root in Northern and Western India, though, as it were, in subjection to Arabic. Nearly all the 'Arab officials, traders and soldiers, who came to India, did so through Persia, and succumbed to the influence of Persian culture. Bashshārī Muqaddasī, in his description of Sindh, in the *Ahsan ut Taqāsīm* says that the Persian *Khutbah* of the Dailamites was current in his day in the mosques in Sindh and Multān. This fact is also indicative of the way how Persian was making its appearance in India. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the manner in which the 'Arabs first came to India, and how their language, in contrast with Persian, gradually influenced the Prākṛit of the land and the literary taste of the people.

It is clear from history that few 'Arab Muslims

The 'Arab exodus to India in Islāmic era. were interested in territorial acquisition in India until nearly the close of the first century A. H.

They at first came to this country, in the regime of the *Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn*¹ in small batches which consisted of innocent visitors, having largely trade interests, who have distinguished themselves for their simple and pious lives.² It so happened that a group of

¹ Title of the first four successors of the Holy Prophet:

أبو بكر - عمر - عثمان - علي

² The prevalent conception in the minds of most people

‘Arab traders sailed for India, and arrived at Tāna (Bombay) in 16 A. H. Subsequently two more groups landed at Baroach and Dibul,¹ where some skirmishes were fought with the natives, but none was undertaken either for conquest or was authorised by the Caliph. These new-comers went back, having traded and stayed for a while in India. It is related that the Caliph ‘Umar was greatly displeased when he was informed of the safe return of the first batch from Tāna. In a letter to the governor of Bahrain, ‘Uṣmān bin Abī al ‘Āsī Ṣaqafī, who was originally responsible for the dispatch of this contingent, the Caliph remarked:

يا اخا ثقيفٍ حملتَ دوداً على عودٍ و انى احلف بالله اِلا اُصيبوا
لاخذت من قومك مثلهٓم -

O brother of Ṣaqif, thou didst make an insect climb over a wood. And I swear by God, if they had come to grief, I would have taken the same number from thy tribe.

After ‘Umar, a special envoy, Hakīm bin Jabalah al ‘Abdī, was despatched to India at the instance of

even today is that the ‘Arabs were led towards India for territorial conquest in all cases. This error could be removed if people were to take the trouble of consulting the early ‘Arab historians dealing with India.

¹ It is the original Hindī word *dēval* (دیوال) meaning a temple.

² Balāzuri, Chap. I (Futūḥ us Sind).

the third Caliph 'Uṣmān who, out of curiosity, wanted to know something about India and her people. But no expedition was sent out for territorial acquisition to Hindūstān either in his or in his successor's regime.¹

¹ Cf the statement :

فلما ولي عثمان بن عفان و ولي عبدالله بن عامر كرز العراق كتب اليه يا مرة ان يوجه الى نغرا الهند من يعلم علمه و ينصرف اليه بخبرة فوجه حكيم ابن جبلة العبدى فلما رجع او فده الى عثمان فسئله عن حال البلاد فقال يا امير المومنين قد عرفتها و تنعرتها قال فصفا الى قال ماؤها و شل و تمرهاد قل و ليصها بطل ان قل الجيش فيها ضا عوا وان كثروا جاءوا فقال له عثمان ا خبر ام ساجع قال بل خابر فلم يغرها احداً -

(Ibid.)

It is to be noted that the same governor of 'Irāq, 'Abdullāh bin 'Āmir, had sent Hārīṣ in the reign of the fourth Caliph 'Alī, with his permission, to make conquests on the borders of Sindh in Balūchistān. He and his men, after winning some victories, eventually died in Kelāt, and their activities remained confined to the outskirts of Hindūstān. The same happened later in the Caliphate of Amir Mu'āviyah, when Muhallab bin Abī Sufrah led his attacks in the same region in 44 A. H., leaving the interior provinces of Hindūstān unmolested. Cf. the statement:—

فلما كان آخر سنة ٣٨ و اول سنة ٣٩ فى خلافة على بن أبى طالب رض توجه الى ذلك النغر الحارث بن مرة العبدى متطوعا باذن على فظفر و اصاب مغنما و سبياً..... ثم انه قتل و من معه بارض القيقال الا قليلا النخ

(Ibid.)

The 'Arab traders and travellers kept coming to India and returning home, after transacting business, for some nine decades, until in 93 A. H., a contingent of 'Arab soldiers sailed in Walid bin 'Abdul Malik's time with the avowed object of preaching Islām and settling in India. The ground was prepared for the 'Arab missionaries and travellers as their predecessors had already established agreeable relations with the inhabitants of the land, leaving behind them a good reputation of their achievements. The new-comers chose to settle here permanently. They raised families and built estates. In a word, they came to look upon India as their home, and so did their descendants.

One of the most remarkable features concerning the lives of these early settlers, as well as their predecessors who had come and gone, is that the people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their living, their zeal for the new Faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islām at once. An idea of the conversion to Islām

ثم غزا ذاك الثغر المهلب بن ابي صفرة في ايام معاوية سنة ٣٢...
ثم ولي عبدالله بن عامر في زمن معاوية بن ابي سفيان عبدالله بن
سوار العبدى و يقال دلاء معاوية من قبله نغرا الهند فغز اتيقان النخ -

(Ibid.)

could be had if we are told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islāmic fold every year.¹ The Hindūs were attracted far more to Islām than either to the religion of Christ or Buddha. Buddhism had, at this time, become a great force in Sindh.

The 'Arab historian Ibn Hauqal, who visited Sindh in person in the second quarter of the third century A. H., says that Arabic and Sindhī were the spoken tongues of Sindh in his time, and were understood generally, so that during his stay there, he had no difficulty in making himself intelligible to the natives. It is mainly through the influence of Arabic in Sindh that its speech is described as different from the rest of Hindūstān. Thus says Mas-'ūdī:

فهذه جمل من أخبار ملوك السند والهند ، لغة السند خلاف لغة الهند²

So these are few sentences about the history of the kings of Sindh and Hind; and the lingua of Sindh is different from that of Hind.

He further speaks fervently of the happy relations prevailing between the Hindūs and the Muslims, and more particularly of the religious toleration

¹ Lane-poole has used the expression "Turk" for "Muslim". Cf. "It has been estimated that about fifty thousand Hindūs 'turn Turk' annually." (Mediæval India, Introduction, p. 4).

² Murūj uz Ḍahab, Chap. XVI.

shown by the members of one community for the other. For instance, he pays a high tribute of praise to Rājā Balhārī for his just and generous treatment of the Muslims, and the esteem in which he held their mosques in the following significant passage:

١ وليس في ملوك السند والهند من يعز المسلمين في ملكه مثل البهري
فالإسلام في ملكه عزيزٌ ومثون و لهم مساجد مبنية و جوامع معمورة للصلاة
الخمس و يملك الملك منهم أربعين سنة و خمسين فصاعداً - و أهل
ملكته يزعمون أنه طالت أعمار ملوكهم لسنة العدل و أكرام المسلمين -

There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Rājā Balhārī. In his kingdom Islām is honoured and protected. And for them mosques and congregational mosques, which are always full, have been built for offering prayers five times. Every one of these kings rules for forty or fifty years or more. "It is the general belief of the people of his kingdom that the lives of these kings are long because they administer justice and honour the Muslims.

After Balhārī, he places the Rājā of Tāfin² in

¹ Ibid.

² No city of this name could be traced on the map. Elliot in his History has taken it to mean the hilly tracts or the mountainous region of salt.

this respect, and compliments him as follows:

١ ثم يلي هذا الملك ملك الطاقن مواعع لمن حوله من الملوك مكرم
للمسلمين -

Balāzūrī also has quoted instances of the kind and just treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Hindūs. Once in an encounter against Sindān, a coast town of Sindh, the Hindūs gained victory over the Muslims, and captured the town. But they never destroyed or damaged the mosques, nor interfered with the liberty of the Muslims as citizens. He observes:

٢ ثم ان الهند بعد غلبوا على سند ان فتركوا مسجدها للمسلمين يجتمعون
فيه ويدعون للخليفة -

A curious story is told illustrating the high sense of justice of a Rājā of Gujarāt by the Persian historian 'Auḡi, in his *Jawāmi*³. He writes that when he happened to visit Khambāyat (Cambay) which was a big town on the coast of Gujarāt, he found there a small population of devout Muslims, who entertained travellers and also extended their hospitality to him. During his stay in the town, he heard a story of *Naushīrwān*-like justice which runs as follows:

¹ Murūj, Chap. XVI.

² Futūḥ ul Buldān, Chap. Futūḥ us Sindh.

³ Chap. II (ذكر ملوك طوائف و احوال ايشان).

In the days of Rājā Jang, there was a mosque which had a minaret, from the top of which the *Mu'azzin* gave the call for prayers. It so happened that the Pārsis incited the Hindūs to make war on the Muslims. The latter's mosque with its minaret was razed to the ground, and along with it eighty Muslims, who had taken their stand by the mosque, were slain. 'Alī, the *Imām* of the mosque, fled to Naharwāla, the capital seat of the Rājā, and tried to approach him for the redress of the wrong done to the mosque and the Muslims. Failing access to the Rājā, he made complaints to the officials at the court, but none paid any heed to his representation. Not discouraged at this, he composed a poem in current Hindī, narrating therein the full story of Hindū atrocity and the official indifference, and planned to present this versified petition to the Rājā, when he rode out for *shikār* on the appointed day. The opportunity soon came, and the *Imām*, who had carefully hid himself in a bush on the Rājā's track, rushed out and boldly stood in front of his elephant, barring the way, and prayed that his petition be heard. The Rājā took compassion, and ordered his *Mahout* to stop the elephant. He then heard the versified Hindī petition of the *Imām* from the beginning to the end with forbearance and attention. When the *Imām* finished, the Rājā took this poem, and gave it to his Secretary, with instructions to remind him of it on his return from *Shikār*. That day the Rājā did not tarry long

in the jungle, and returned early. He called his Minister and told him that he felt tired, and would remain within the Palace and rest for three days, adding that the usual work of the State should be carried on during these three days without reference to him. Having said this, he retired, and when the night fell, he robed himself in a merchant's dress, and mounting on a fast camel rode to Khambāyat, which lay at a distance of forty *farsang* from Naharwāla. The next evening he reached his destination, and went about the streets of the city, listening to the talk of the passersby and the local shop-keepers. He also inspected the spot, and made casual and unconcerned inquiries about the incident from the residents of the quarter. He heard every one say that great outrage was committed on the poor Muslims, their innocent blood was shed, and their shrine with its minaret was pulled down to the ground. The Rājā then went to the coast, and taking out his jug he filled it with the sea-water, sealed it, and repaired to his Capital, covering the distance as before in one day and one night. On the next day of his arrival, he held a public *darbār*, which was attended by the people and the officials of the State. The *Imām* of the mosque was also present. When the *darbār* was in full swing, the Rājā suddenly recalled the Muslim petitioner's case, and asked the Minister-in-charge to produce the *Imām* and his Hindī petition. The *Imām* appeared and made his obeisance. The Rājā

granted him permission to read his petition. When he finished, the officers of the Rājā unanimously declared the contents to be false. Thereupon the Rājā ordered his ewer-bearer to bring the sealed jug, break the seal, and distribute the water to every one of them. They all tasted it, and found it to be the brackish water of the sea. The Rājā then related in the *darbār* how he had gone in person to Khambāyat in the guise of a merchant to ascertain the facts, and returned with the truth. He declared that the Muslims were the oppressed, and in his kingdom no community should come to grief, and his Rāj could not tolerate such oppression. He then ordered that the ring-leaders from among the Hindūs and the Pārsīs, who had a hand in the crime, should be brought to book, and the Muslim sufferers be awarded from the Royal Treasury one lac of *balūtrā* (silver coin) to rebuild their mosque and its minaret. The Imām received *khiḷ'at* and other gifts from the Rājā, which were retained in the mosque for centuries afterwards as a token of the Rājā's unparalleled act of clemency and justice to the aggrieved Muslim subjects of his State. The Persian traveller was an eye-witness to these gifts which were there as exhibits till 665 A. H., when he visited Cambay. Many such instances can be quoted from reliable authorities, but there is no place for them here.

In short, the 'Arab invaders came to India by sea through Persia. Their first armed batch landed

at Dībul, at the mouth of the Indus, having sailed from Sarāfah (or Sarrāfah) in the Persian Gulf, and passed along the Persian coast. The circumstances which attracted them to India for the purpose of territorial conquests on the Indian soil, may be briefly stated as follows:

The early 'Arab merchants and travellers who had returned home, having traded with the people and preached their religion in India, spoke freely to their countrymen about India's wealth, its rich products and its abundant shady and fruit trees, which they had seen during their sojourn in Sindh, Cambay, Calicut and Gujarāt, in contrast with their own desert lands. No detailed account of their activities is available now. What is probable, however, is that these people had no intention of territorial acquisition in Hindūstān. The opportunity for territorial conquest presented itself to the 'Arabs, as stated above, long afterwards, when the 'Arab travellers and traders were not sufficiently protected against the attacks of the robbers and pirates by the Rājās of Sindh and Gujarāt. Several ships carrying merchandise from the Persian towns, and a party of widows and orphan daughters of the 'Arab traders who had died in Ceylon and were sent under escort by the Rājā to Hajjāj, the Caliph's governor of 'Irāq, to please him, had been robbed at Dībul, which was the chief mediæval harbour of Sindh at the mouth of the river Indus. When the pirates, coming out

of their armed barges, attacked the ship carrying the women and their property, a woman cried out, "O Hajjāj come to our help." On this news being conveyed to Hajjāj, he forthwith answered the call, saying, "I come to your help." These pirates had become a menace to the 'Arab trade on the coast of India. Their strong-holds were the harbours of Sindh and Gujarāt, and the Rājās were unable to chastise them, as was confessed by Rājā Dāhir himself in his reply to the demand made by Hajjāj.¹ To add to this injury, Rājā Dāhir had incensed the Caliph Walīd bin 'Abdul Malik and his governor Hajjāj, by his refusal to arrest and hand over to them the 'Arab convicts who had fled and taken shelter in the Rājā's dominion. These were the main causes

ثم استعمل الكعجاج بعد مجاعة محمد بن هارون ابن ذراع النوى
فاهدى الى الكعجاج فى ولايته ملك جزيرة الياقوت نسوة و لدن فى بلاد
مسلمات و مات أباهن وكانوا تجارا فارادالتقرب بهن فعرض للسفينة التى
كن فيها قوم من ميدالديل فى بوارج فاخذوا السفينة بما فيها فنادت امرأة
منهن وكانت من بنى يربوع يا كعجاج و بلغ الكعجاج ذلك فقال يا لبيك
فارسل الى داهريستله تخليقة النسوة فقال إنما اخذهن لصوص لا أقدر عليهم
فانزى الكعجاج عبيد الله بن نهان الديبل فقتل فكتب الى بديل بن طهفة
النجلى وهو بعمان يامره ان يسير الى الديبل.... ثم ولى الكعجاج محمد
بن قاسم.... فغزا السند وكان محمد بفارس النخ -

(Balāẓurī, Chap. Futūh us Sind).

which led the 'Arabs to think seriously of the occupation of the coast towns of Sindh. The first remedy that suggested to them lay in their seizure of the port of Dībul. Consequently an army, under the command of Muḥammad bin Qāsim, consisting of six thousand soldiers from the inhabitants of Syria, and many more from other towns, was collected at Shīrāz, together with large supplies of war material, including even needles and thread to prepare sand-bags. Muḥammad Qāsim was instructed to remain and wait in Shīrāz until the whole equipment was ready and all his comrades and soldiers had arrived and joined him. Several armed barges with men and material sailed in advance to meet him at Dībul. The army from Shīrāz marched along the Persian coast, and reached the valley of the Indus on Friday, substantially added and increased in bulk on its way, and laid siege to the fort of Dībul which enshrined the sacred temple.

Balāzurī, more than any other historian of this period who wrote on India, gives a fuller account of this battle in his *Futūḥul Buldān*, which he completed in the latter part of the third century A. H. This historic battle was fought in 93 A. H. The 'Arab army, consisting mostly of the Persian troops, was led by the young general, who was then only seventeen;¹

¹ Cf. the verses of Ḥamzah ibn Biṣ al Hanafī:

ان المروءة والسماحة والندى لمحمد بن القاسم بن محمد

while Rājā Dāhir's governor of the town was in command of his and the allied forces, including the garrison in the fort. The 'Arab general ordered trenches to be dug, and stationed his gunners and spearmen in small detachments, each carrying its own banner.¹ The big stone-battering ram of the 'Arabs, called the '*Arūs*'² (bride), which was pulled by five hundred men, proved very effective, and brought down from the top of the temple the huge red ensign which was hoisted on a tall dried palm-pole that served as the flag-staff. This was accomplished in accordance with the instructions from Hajjāj who was consulted on all important matters. A special envoy was despatched every fourth day carrying to Hajjāj a report of the events that occurred and the problems that confronted the general during the past three days. The reply received in respect of the same was duly attended to³. In regard to the

سأس الجيوش لسبع عشرة حجة يا قرب ذاك سوداً من مولدٍ
(Ibid.)

Also Cf. another poet:

سأس الرجال لسبع عشرة حجة ولداته عن ذاك في أشغالٍ

¹ Cf. فنخندق حين نزل الدليل و دكزت ألوماج على الخندق و
(Ibid.) نشرت الاعلام و أنزل الناس على أياتهم -

² Cf. و نصب منجنيقاً تعرف بالعروس كن يمد فيها خمس مائة
(Ibid.) رجل -

³ Cf. وكانت كتب الكجاج ترد على مكمد و كتب مكمد ترد عليه
(Ibid.) بصفة ما قبله و استطلاع رايه فيما يعمل به في كل ثلاثة أيام -

conquest of this fort, Hajjāj wrote to Muḥammad Qāsim to fix the '*Arās* with its mouth facing to the east of the town, and shorten its angle, and direct the gunner to strike at the pole to which the red ensign was tied. The general acted accordingly. When the gunner with an accurate aim hit the pole, it broke asunder, and the huge flag, which flew in the air majestically over the town, came down.¹ This struck consternation into the rank and file of the garrison, and the inhabitants took the incident to be a bad omen, and became desperate, and came out of the town to give battle to Muḥammad Qāsim in the open. A fierce encounter took place, which resulted in the latter's partial success in defeating the enemy and driving him back into the town. The walls of the fort were then scaled, and after a sustained struggle the fort fell to the 'Arabs, and the bulk of the Rājā's army together with his governor fled to the North of the Indus. Thus the victors were placed in undisputed possession of the town, and celebrated their victory for three days. Muḥammad Qāsim ordered a mosque to be built there, which survived for centuries to commemorate his first victory on the soil of India. After a few days' rest,

¹ Cf. *نورد علی محمد من الحجاج کتاب أن انصب العروس و انصر*
 منها قائمة والتكن مما إلى المشرق ثم ادع صاحبها فمرو أن يقصد برميته الدقل
 الذي و صفت لي فرمى الدقل فمسر - (Ibid.)

the 'Arab general led his troops further up the valley in pursuit of the enemy, leaving a strong garrison in the fort. Some historians assert that he first went to Bīrūn, an old city of Sindh, which later became the birth-place of the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū Raihān, better known as al-Bīrūnī.¹ The inhabitants of Bīrūn had already secured peace terms from Hājāj by sending to him two *Samonīs* (Buddhists) as plenipotentiaries. After entering Bīrūn, and receiving the subsidy in accordance with the terms of this treaty, he marched triumphantly through other towns, and came to Mihrān where another treaty was signed between him and the Rājā of that place, through the good offices of a Brahman named Śrī Bēdās, who was specially deputed by the Rājā for this purpose. Muḥammad Qāsim then came within sight of Rājā Dāhir's main army encamped on a plain on the right bank of the Indus, with a vast military equipment and rows of horses and elephants. When the news of the general's approach was reported to the

¹ Cf. Abul Fidā: و بیرون مدینة بالسند . . . وهی مواد ابی دیکان
Also, cf. Ismā'il bin 'Alī al Ayyūbī:

والبیرون اسم مدینة من الدیبل . . . وقال ابن سعید مدینة البیرون التي
ینسب اليها ابو دیکان البیرونی —

(Taqwīm, MSS. vol. 147b, Rāmpūr State Library).

Note:—This latter view is unsupported by facts. For details vide discussion under al-Bīrūnī (Chapter III), *Supra*.

Rājā, he declared his readiness to fight. Undismayed, the 'Arab general began seriously to consider plans to cross the river which had no bridge built over it in that area. There was, one, however, at some distance in the adjoining neutral territory of Rājā Rāsil, which Dāhir least thought the 'Arab general would make use of.¹ Dāhir, in fact, was over-confident of the enemy's inability to cross the Indus, and had neglected to keep an eye on his movements. The 'Arabs seized the opportunity, and succeeded in crossing the river at this strategical point. The Rājā was soon dis-illusioned when he found, to his surprise, that the 'Arab general and his army had crossed the river and stood face to face. It caused consternation in the Rājā's camp, and a fierce hand to hand fight ensued between the two contending armies. The Rājā was surrounded by war elephants manned with his archers, and his own stately elephant was in the centre.² The great havoc done by the catapults and the naphtha-arrows of the 'Arabs were the chief factors contributing to the Rājā's defeat. These arrows, it appears, set fire to the *bowdas* of the elephants, who fled in dismay in all directions, mad-

¹ Cf. ثم أن مكدًا أحتال لعبور مهر أن حتى عبّرة مما يلي بلاد راسل
ملك قصّة من الهند على جسر عقدة و داهر مستخف به لا عنه النج
(Balāzuri, Futūh us Sind)

² Cf. (Ibid.) و لقيه مكد والمسلمون وهو على فيل و حوله الفيلة

dened with fury, causing utter confusion in the camp. The morale of the Rājā's army was broken. In this hubbub Dāhir, who was in supreme command of his *lashkar* got down from his elephant, and fought heroically till the last. Both the parties, says the 'Arab historian, fought with such valour as had not been heard of in history.¹ Rājā Dāhir's courage was specially to be seen in the fact that he kept on fighting single-handed when all his body-guards and personal attendants had deserted him. Towards the evening he was over-powered and killed² by an 'Arab of the tribe of Banī Kilāb, named Qāsim bin Ṣa'labī bin 'Abdullah bin Ḥasan, who was also a poet, as is depicted in his verses :

الخبيل تشهد يوم داهر و القنا
و محمد بن القاسم بن محمد
أنى فوجت الجمع غير معرود
حتى علوت عظيمهم بهند
فتركته نكت العجاج مجد لا
متعقر الخدين غير موسى

¹ Cf. فاقتلوا قتا لا شديدا لم يسمع بمثله و ترجل داهر و قاتل

(Ibid.)

² فقتل عند المساء و انهزم المشركون (Ibid.)

The horses and the spears bear witness when
 I gave battle to Dāhir,
 And so does Muḥammad bin Qāsim bin Muḥam-
 mad too,
 That I dashed straight through the lines of the
 enemy,
 Till I came upon their leader with the Indian
 sword¹ in my hand,
 Then I threw him down on the ground in fight,
 His cheeks were smeared with dust, and he
 was without a pillow.

The full size pictures of Dāhir and his slayer were painted at Baroach, and were preserved there for a long time. This victory opened for the 'Arabs an easy way to Brahmanābād, the key to Multān, which was a religious centre and a strong-hold of Hindū political power and wealth.² Both these fortified towns fell in rapid succession to the great joy of the village population which welcomed the new-

¹ The steel of an Indian sword was known all over the world for its superfine quality. It was tempered through a special scientific process. (Royle's *Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, pp. 46-7).

² Multān has been called by the 'Arab historians: *فجر بيت الذهب* (the mouth of the treasure of gold). The temple of Multān was held to be most sacred by the Hindūs because of its idol which was believed to represent the Prophet Ayyūb (Cf. Balāzuri: — *ويزعمون أن صنما فيه هو أيوب النبي*). The city was called "Multān" after the name of its idol, and attracted presents and pilgrims from the whole of Hindūstān.

comers as their saviours.¹ Whole families of men, women and children came out of their homes at the news of this conquest, beating drums, and dancing before the tents of the 'Arab soldiers. Muḥammad bin Qāsim advanced further, receiving homage from many other towns like Rohri, Basmad, Sāwandri and Sukkur. At Kevirāj, however, his passage was obstructed by Rājā Dāhir's son, Duharā who, having come out of the town, was determined to fight to avenge the death of his father. His horse and spear proved

¹ Lane-poole assigns the following reasons for the joy of the village populace over the 'Arab conquest:

"The Hindū rulers had oppressed them heavily, and the Jāts and Medes and other tribes were on the side of the invaders. The work of conquest, as often happened in India, was thus aided by the disunion of the inhabitants, and jealousies of race and creed conspired to help the Muslims". (Mediaeval India, p. 10).

Politically, the 'Arab conquest appears to have been a blessing to the people in the conquered territories, and, in particular, reflects on the way the Hindū subjects of Sindh mourned for Muhammad bin Qāsim, and raised his statue to commemorate his just and tolerant government, after he was recalled home by the Caliph's order. Cf. the statement:—

فَبَكَى أَهْلُ الْهِنْدِ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَصُورِهِ بِالْكِيُوجِ

He was very popular in Sindh, and was loved by the people for his equitable rule. In a verse of his own composition, he declares that if he had chosen to remain in Sindh (as its king) both men and women of the place would have supported his claim, and fought on his side against any foe:—

لَوْ كُنْتُ أَجْعَلْتُ الْقِرَارَ لَوَطَّئْتُ أَنْتَ أَعِدْتُ لِلْوَعَى وَ ذُكُورِ

no match for Muḥammad Qāsim's victorious arms, which soon crushed the enemy and killed their leader. An 'Arab poet, who personally took part in the fight, composed the following verse describing the death of the father and the son on the battlefield at the hands of the 'Arabs:

نکن قتلنا داهراً و دوهراً والخیل نردی منسراً و منسراً

Thus the whole plain of the Indus valley came under the direct sway of the 'Arab conquerors. This is no place to give a detailed account of these epoch-making conquests. We are mainly concerned with the cultural effect which the 'Arab occupation of the territory from Dībul to Multān produced in the conquered land,¹ including Sindh, which was later

¹ Lane-poole is in error when he observes in his volume on Mediaeval India:

"We must dismiss at the outset any idea of the Arabian influence in India," and again, "the conquest was only an episode in the history of India and of Islām, a triumph without results".

The various dynasties and races that came to India at different times from foreign countries, and settled in upper Hindūstān, prior to the coming in of the Muslim 'Arabs, had identified themselves with the Indian people and their religious and social culture. All such immigrants, including the Greeks, had something in common, and maintained no separate individuality, like the 'Arabs, who adhered to their own civilization and faith which resembled none. The principles of life, society and religion of the 'Arab settlers did virtually influence the Indian people, and attract them to Islāmic ways; while the civilization and the sciences of the Indians, in their turn, arrested the

fully subdued by Muhammad bin Qāsim's son, after the father had been recalled home by the Caliph's order. The fact that Muhammad bin Qāsim's forces were collected at Shīrāz, and consisted largely of Persian soldiers, goes to suggest that Persian must have been spoken in the newly conquered land. Nevertheless, it is open to doubt whether Persian culture could assert itself at the time we are speaking about, owing to the dominating influence of Arabic, the language of the conquerors. The historians, Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal, record how they found the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the fourth century A. H., speaking their mother-tongue even in their daily life. Sindhī which contains such a large number of Arabic words owes them to the fact that the 'Arabs adhered

attention of the 'Arabs. Thus the meeting of these two great nations of the world happily influenced each other, and benefited India immensely in thought, and substantially improved its social, commercial, rural, religious, linguistic, economic, architectural, administrative and military aspects. As a matter of fact, so many various sects and creeds that came to, or rose in, India from time immemorial merged into one absorbing religion, Hinduism, though retaining their separate identities and religious customs; while Islām, which brought its own culture and faith has since stood by itself. The 'Arab civilization and culture had a due share in the subsequent making of India, and in the uplift and advancement of the people of Sindh, Gujarāt and part of the Punjab as is evident from the system of land revenue, trade, social inter-course, town planning, defence, and buildings with domes and minarets, prevalent in the second and the third centuries of the Hijrah, during the 'Arab rule. Also, the effect of Arabic is noticeable even today on the spoken language of Sindh.

to Arabic in India for centuries. Their influence was noticed not only on the native tongue, Sindhī, but also on the culture of the province, which is a separate subject altogether, and will be dealt with in its place. Persian, in fact, had little chance of attracting the Indian people yet. But a tremendous event was about to happen, to open an entirely new chapter in the cultural history of India. This great event was the appearance of the Ghaznavids on the Indian scene, to which we shall turn our attention after a preliminary survey of the general state of Persian literature in its own home.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-GHAZNAVID PERIOD

Section I:—General state of Persian literature and poetic taste in Khurāsān and other adjoining territories.

In order to be able to realise the full effect of Persian culture on India through the Ghaznavid connection, one must take a bird's-eye view of the general state of Persian language and literature a little prior to the emergence of the Ghaznavids in history. It is essential to note the rise of Persian as a spoken and literary tongue of the people of Central Asia, and the great liking for it in the territories lying to India's North-West frontier, particularly in the districts politically connected with the Punjāb, and linked by one rule.

Before the Ghaznavids appeared on the scene, the Province of Khurāsān, which was the chief seat of Persian culture, was ruled by the Tāhirīds in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād. The Tāhirīds displayed an exceedingly great interest in Arabic poetry. Their predilection for and patronage of the arts made Khurāsān, during their regime, a notable centre of Arabic learning. Many an 'Arab poet of repute found patronage with the Tāhirīds. Thus

the 'Arab poets and the noblemen, from among those 'Arab settlers and travellers who came to India at this time from Khurāsān, naturally brought with them, along with the Arabic language, the native literature of that Province and the taste for its poetry and art. The last days of the Tāhirīds should be reckoned as the earliest date for the coming of Persian proper in India. It came then, as was to be expected, depending upon Arabic. Although Persian poetry was not much heard of among the people of Khurāsān, yet the Tāhirīds valued Persian poetry no less than Arabic poetry. This statement is borne out by the fact that there were present at the Court some famous Persian poets such as Hakīm Abū Hafs, Hinzalah Bādghisī, Mahmūd Warrāq,¹ Firūz Mashriqī and several others whose poetry has survived to this day.

Defence of the Tāhirīds against the preposterous charge of burning the whole mass of Persian literature during their regime in Khurāsān.

It is necessary here to defend the Tāhirīds against the preposterous charge of having burnt to ashes the whole mass of Persian literature that was produced or could then be found in Khurāsān, which some unscrupulous historians have fixed on them, and, in particular, on 'Abdullāh bin

¹ Mahmūd Warrāq was the court-poet of the last Tāhirīd king.

Tāhir, the Caliph's governor of that Province.¹ The facts that throw doubt on this view are the following:

¹ Cf Daulat Shāh:—

حکایت کنند که امیر عبدالله بن طاهر که روزگار خلفای عباسی امیر خراسان بود روزی در نیشاپور نشسته بود شخصی کتابی آورد و به تحفه پیش او بنهاد - پرسید که این چه کتاب است گفت این قصه و امق و عذر است و خوب حکایتی است که حکما بنام نوشیروان جمع کرده اند - امیر فرمود تا آن کتاب را در آب انداختند و حکم کرد که در قلمرو من هر کجا که از تصانیف عجم و مغان کتابی باشد جمله را بسوزانند - ازین جهت تا روزگار آل سامان اشعار عجم را ندیده اند -
(p. 30, ed. by Browne)

It is related that 'Abdullāh bin Tāhir, who was the governor of Khurāsān during the 'Abbāsīd regime, was sitting one day in Nīshāpūr. A certain person brought to him a book and presented it to him. The Amīr asked him what book it was. He replied that it was the story of *Wāmiq* and 'Azrā, and a very good story that the sages had preserved in the name of Naushīrwān. The Amīr commanded that the book be thrown into the water, and ordered that in his dominion wherever any book from the literature of the Persians and the fire-worshippers be found, it should be completely burnt. For this reason Persian verses have not been seen until the days of the Sāmānīds.

Also Cf. Rīzā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

ظاهر است که اشعار قدیم شعرای عجم بسبب غلبه عرب از میان رفته چنانکه مشهور است که تمام کتب و توارینح عجمیان را عرب سوختند و از کتب قدیمه چیزه بر جانکذاشتند **إلا** قلیله که پنهان داشتند - چون مردم را قدغن بلیغ نمودند قاعدۀ سخن فارسی و شعر متروک شد -

(Majma'ul Fusahā)

The Tāhirids, and in particular, ‘Abdullāh bin Tāhir and his Caliph al-Māmūn ‘Abbāsī, were not only patrons of knowledge, but they were striking examples of learning themselves. They valued scientific and literary works, caring little to which nation or race these works belonged, as is evidenced by the fact that they had many books on history, science and geometry translated into Arabic. They also sent for Greek writings on philosophy, medicine and mathematics, and had them translated into Arabic. They entertained no prejudice against any literature and like the great Mughals held periodical religious discussions, which they themselves attended. Witness what the well-known ‘Arab historian, ‘Abdu’l Rahmān al-Maghribī, remarks concerning al-Māmūn’s profound interest in letters:

¹وكان المامون من افاضل الخلفاء و علمائهم و حكمائهم و علمائهم اتم
رجال بنى عباس حزما و عزما و فراسة و فهما وكان قد اخذ من العلوم بقسط
و ضرب فيها بسهم و تاء ديب و تفقه و برع فى فنون التاريخ و الادب و النجوم
و لما كبر اعتنى با لفلسفة و علوم الاول و هو الذى استخرج كتاب اقليدس

It is evident that the ancient poetry of the poets of Persia vanished after the invasion and supremacy of the ‘Arabs, and the report goes that they burnt all the books and historical literature of the Persians, and left nothing from their ancient books which they did not destroy, except a very few of them which they had kept hidden. Since the ‘Arabs proscribed Persian writings, the practice of Persian composition and poetry among them was abandoned.

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, account of ‘Abdullāh al-Māmūn.

و أمر بترجمة و تفصيله و عقد المجالس فى خلافته للمناظرة فى الاديان و المقالات.... فا قبل على طلب العلم فى مواضعه و داخل ملوك الروم و سألهم صلته بمالديهم من كتب الفلسفة فبعثوا اليه منها ما حضروهم فاستبحر لها مهرة التراجمة و كلفهم احكام ترجمتها فتترجمت له على غاية ما امكن.... ثم حرص الناس على قراءتها و دعيهم فى تعليمها فكان يدخلو بالحكام يانس بمناظرهم و يتلذذ بمذاكرهم علما منه بان اهل العلم هم صفوة الله من خلقه و نخبته من عبادته -

“And al-Māmūn was among the most qualified, learned, wise and mild Caliphs. He was one of the most accomplished of the people of Banū ‘Abbās, gifted with foresight, determination, intelligence and understanding; and had acquired a considerable share in all kinds of learning, and achieved success in them. He studied literature and jurisprudence, and excelled in the knowledge of history, literature and astronomy. And when he grew up, he turned his attention to philosophy and ancient sciences. And it was he who searched out the book of Euclid, and ordered its translation and commentary to be written. He convened assemblies during his Caliphate to hold discussion on different religions and subjects. And he visited the seats of learning in search of knowledge, and entered into friendly communication with the *Kaisers* of Rūm. And whatever stock of books of philosophy was with them, he asked for it, and made this a means of friendship with them, and they sent to him whatever stock they

had. Then he invited the experts in those subjects to translate those books into Arabic, and entrusted the work of translation to them. And the translations were made for him with the utmost possible care. He then encouraged people to read those sciences, and made them acquire this knowledge. He sat with the learned, and took interest in their literary discussions, and derived pleasure from their conversation, because he knew that the possessors of learning are the chosen of God among His creatures and the best among His servants."

At the close of the Tāhirīd rule in 260 A. H., the Saffārīd gained ascendancy in Turkestan and Māwarā un Nahr, which lasted for about thirty-one years, giving place to the most important and cultured dynasty of Persia known as the Sāmānīd. The latter's influence was noticeable in Turkestan even in the Tāhirīd days, but since the beginning of 279 A.H., it became more pronounced and definite under the leadership of Ismā'il bin Aḥmad, who proclaimed himself ruler of Turkestan and Māwarā un Nahr, and ordered the *khutbah* to be read in his name. After the founder's death, his nephew Naṣr bin Aḥmad succeeded him to the throne. During his regime, Rūdakī, the distinguished poet of the court, attempted lyric poetry. Naṣr was a lover of arts and letters, and is famous in history for his patronage of Rūdakī, the first great poet of Persia. After Naṣr, his son, Nūh, who became king in 331 A. H., excelled his

father in literary taste. He founded a library unrivalled for the size and rarity of its contents, and brought together a band of eminent scholars and poets at his court. The famous scientist, Avicenna, who personally inspected this unique collection, has given an elaborate account of it in his autobiography. He says:

وكانت عديم المثل فيها من كل فن من الكتب المشهورة بأيدي الناس¹
وغيرهم مالا يوجد في سواها ولا سمع باسمه فضلا عن معرفته

And this library was peerless. There were in it almost all famous and current books on every subject; and in addition, there were books that could not be found anywhere except in this library; and even their names were not heard of, not to say of their subject matter.

The Sāmānīds claimed Persian descent. Hence it was but natural for them to pay special attention to the production of Persian literature, with the result that it did not take very long for Persian art and culture to assert themselves in the life of the people under the Sāmānīd regime. A number of important works, such as the *Kalīlah wa Damnah* and the *Tārīkh Tabarī*, were translated from Sanskrit and Arabic

¹ *Tabaqāt ul Atibbā*, Vol. II, p. 4.

into Persian. The poets composed *diwāns*, and Daqīqī was deputed to write the great epic, the *Shāhnāmāh*, which later was taken up and completed by the immortal Firdausī, after Daqīqī had done only a thousand lines when he met his tragic death at the hands of a slave. There arose at this time about twenty poets writing in Persian in the various centres of Persian culture in Central Asia, including Persia itself. Of these poets the leading were Abū ‘Abdullāh Farālāwī, Murādī, Shahīd Balkhī, Rūdakī, Daqīqī and a poetess, Rābi‘a of Baṣrah, who wrote both in Persian and Arabic. Since the Sāmānīds had little to do directly with India, it is out of place here to refer, in any detail, to the condition of Persian culture or the styles of Persian composition formed and adopted during the Sāmānīd regime, except a general remark which would be necessary as a prelude to the growth of Persian writing in India.

The Ghaznavīd dynasty, which succeeded the Sāmānīd, directly brought to India Persian literature, civilization and taste for poetry, all of which came to stay and develop in the congenial surroundings of their new home.

This dynasty fully represented the Sāmānīds in all their cultural aspects, tendencies and interests, and was largely responsible for the initiation of Persian literature in India, independently of ‘Arab influence and

Relation of the Ghaznavīds with the Sāmānīd dynasty of Persia.

Arabic medium. It sprang, so to speak, "at the feet" of the Sāmānīds closely succeeding them, and came to power through the elevation of one Alptagīn to the governorship of Khurāsān, who was a slave of 'Abdul Malik, the last ruler of the Sāmānīd descent. After Alptagīn, his son, Abū Ishāq, sat on the throne in 367 A.H., but died within a few days, and the people chose one of Alptagīn's slaves, Subuktagīn, who was also his master's son-in-law, as their king. After his death, his son, Mahmūd, the most famous figure in the history of Muslim rule in India, succeeded to his father's kingdom of Khurāsān and Ghaznī. It was under his banner that the Persian language made its serious and undisputed appearance in India. It came to stay, and acquired a place in the comity of Indian languages and literatures. Within Mahmūd's lifetime its progress was marked with wonderful strides, and it became very popular in the Punjāb, because of the congenial atmosphere and the pro-Persian tendencies about which we shall speak hereafter.

It seems probable, however, that the taste for Persian culture and Persian poetry had taken root in India during his father's régime, since the latter had visited India several times on his mission of conquest, and returned to Ghaznī soon after giving battles to Jaipāl, the Brahman Rājā of the Punjāb. It is not known which poets accompanied him on

Persian in India in
Mahmūd's father's
régime.

these expeditions, but it seems certain that many attended on his person according to the fashion of the day. It is due to his interrupted sojourns in India that the taste for Persian poetry among the people did not become so clearly visible under him as it did under his son, Mahmūd. There is no record to show that poets, in their customary fashion, presented him with *qasā'id* on memorable occasions of victory, except a *naẓm* by Abul Fath Bustī, who composed it at Ghaznī; nor is there any clear hint in the early histories to throw light on their poetical activities in Hindūstān. This is why Persian poetry has no recorded history in India prior to Mahmūd's conquest.

Some distinguished poets and writers of Subuktagīn's reign, who were at Ghaznī and received favours from him, were Abul 'Abbās bin Ahmad Isfarā'īnī, Abul Fath Bustī and Abū Naṣr Muhammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār 'Utbī. Isfarā'īnī was formerly the chief Munshī at the court of Naṣr bin Ahmad, ruler of the Sāmānīd dynasty, and was later appointed Minister by Subuktagīn when he ruled Khurāsān in the name of Nūh bin Naṣr. Being a Persian by birth, Isfarā'īnī, in addition to his Arabic learning, was a profound scholar of Persian, and rendered invaluable service to Persian language and Persian poetry. It was he who introduced Firdausī to the

court of Sultān Mahmūd, and recommended him for the composition of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmāh*. Further, he substituted Persian language for Arabic which, until his time, was the court language of the rulers of Ghaznī. Firdausī gratefully refers to him in the following verse:

دستورِ فرزانه داد گر پراگنده رنج من آمد بسر

The second great poet and writer was Abul Fath Bustī, whom 'Aufī calls Sadr ul Afāzīl Abul Fath Bustī. صدرالافاضل (the head of the learned and the calligraphists).

He had full command of Arabic and Persian, and wrote fluently in both. Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Husain Sarakhshī opines:

۱ و اوداد لغتِ تازی و پارسی ژرفی و شرفی بوده که بالغ کلامان
در امصار به حدیث و متانت آن معترف اند و خطباتش در نثر پارسی
معروف -

'Aufī testifies to his Arabic and Persian *dīwāns*, and quotes from the latter the following Persian *qit'a*:

۲ بیه نصیحت من گوش دار و فرماں کن
که از نصیحت سود آن کند که فرماں کرد

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, MS., foll. ۳.

² Lubāb, vol. I, pp. 64-65.

همه بصلح گرای و همه مدارا کن
 که از مدارا کردن ستوده گردد مود
 اگرچه قوت‌داری و عدت بسیار
 بکرد صلح گرای و بکرد جنگ مکرد
 نه هر که دارد شمشیر حرب باید کرد
 نه هر که دارد پا زهر زهر باید خورد

The third great poet and writer was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār al-'Utḡī, who wrote his famous history, the *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, after his master's death, in elegant and florid Arabic, and dedicated it to Sultān Maḥmūd, to commemorate the occasion of the latter's receiving the title of *Yamīn ud Daulah* from the Caliph of Baghdād. In this history, he has recorded the events of Subuktagīn and his son Maḥmūd. It was written in about 415 A. H., after Maḥmūd's Indian campaigns, when the author was in his employ. A detailed account of this work is published in German by Noldeke, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, Vienna, and another in English by Elliot, in his *History of India*. The original Arabic text was translated into Persian in about 605 A. H., by one Abu'sh Sharaf Nāṣih of Jurbāzāqān,¹ and its translation into English was

¹ A small town situated between Hamadān and Isfahān.

published by the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. 'Aufī, commenting on Yamīnī's elegant style, says :

الحق کتابی که غرائبِ بیانِ درِ وایعِ کلماتِ آن در لطافتِ آبِ زلال¹
و طراوتِ بادِ شمالِ است - دَر و غَرِّ الفَاظِ آن آرایشیِ نکورِ حورِ شاید و
مطالعۀِ مطالع و مقاطعِ آن آسایشِ دلِ صدورِ بود -

After the Ghaznavīds, the same patronage was shown by the kings of the succeeding dynasties of Ghōr, Slave, Khiljī, Tughlaq, Lōdī and the Mughals,² which kept alive the unity and friendship between the two countries, and enabled the Indian contribution to Persian letters to be at par with the original literature of Persia. This resulted in bringing the peoples of the two countries nearer to each other in sympathy and understanding in all their social and literary activities through the common bond of the Persian language.

Prior to Mahmūd's invasion, India was split up into small kingdoms with independent rulers who styled themselves as *Rājā*. Their languages also were different, as we observe today in the Provinces of India. The Persian language, before the Ghaznavīds entered Hindūstān, was current in the Central

¹ Ibid., p. 24.

² The Sayyid dynasty has not been mentioned, as its part in the uplift of Persian art and literature was comparatively small, and is fully covered by the Tughlaq and the Lōdī rule.

Asian States, and its chief centres were reckoned to be Khurāsān, Herāt, Ghaznī and Balkh. In India, the Provinces of the Punjāb and Sindh were particularly affected, since large numbers of foreigners had been coming to India for the purposes of trade and travel. Besides, they had established social relations with Lāhore, owing to the innumerable Persian families having come and settled in its vicinity before Islām.¹ For these reasons Persian civilization and the Persian tongue were not alien to the Punjāb, and their influence, though unperceived in the beginning, had been exerting itself on the people for some time past. The people of Lāhore, in particular, were already susceptible to it, and the taste for Persian speech was clearly noticeable among them.

The dynasty immediately preceding the Ghaznavid was the Sāmānīd. Its regime had lasted in Persia for about a century. The advance made by poetry in this period was remarkable because of the unprecedented patronage extended to arts and science by the Persian nobility and government. No details, however, need be given here of the extensive growth of literature in Persia under the Sāmānīds.² The average level attained by Persian compositions, the impetus given to various kinds of poetry, chiefly the *qasīdah* and the *ghazal*, and the polish which the langu-

¹ Vide Supra, pp. 7—9.

² A general survey is given in Chap. II (Sec. II), Supra.

age, as a whole, had received at the hands of the poets and other writers, might well be studied in the works of the earlier authors, wherein are preserved the specimens of all kinds of writings.

A careful study of Persian poetry in the early days in Persia reveals the fact that it was founded on the model of Arabic verse. Arabic poetry exercised a great influence on Persian thought, a fact freely admitted by Persian poets themselves. As has been pointed out before, the 'Arabs, at the beginning of their conquests, dominated over Persia, and their civilization and culture became supreme in that country. For about two hundred years the literate Persians, after their conversion to Islām, paid little heed to their own literature. They followed Arabian ways, and studied the Arabic language, which every convert to Islām was by religion bound to do. In the third century, however, versification in the Persian tongue began, as it did, with the impress and print of Arabic poetry upon it. The composers either merely translated Arabic verse into Persian verse or reproduced the same thought in their composition. Arabic metres also were adopted with convenient modifications to suit Persian melody. In short, Persian poets took their cue from Arabic poetry, and acknowledged their indebtedness to the 'Arabs whom they regarded as their models in

the art of versification. For example, Mīnūchehrī, in a *qasīdah* which he composed in the metre and rhyme of the famous 'Arab poet Abu'sh Shīs, says :

بدان وزن این شعر گفتم که گفت ست ابو الشیص اعرابی باستانی
سالمک واللیل ملق الجران غراب ینوح علی غصن بان

Again, declares Anwari:

شاعری دانی کدامے قوم کردند آنکه بود
اولِ شاه امراء القیس آخرِ شاه بو نواس

In fact, to be a poet in those days, the one essential condition was to remember by heart the famous *qasā'id* of the leading poets of Arabia, and a thorough acquaintance with the works of 'Arab poets, so as to inculcate in the national Persian poetry not only the same style and vigour, but to enliven it with Arabian expression and thought. The same Mīnūchehrī in a retort to a colleague of his, who was not very conversant with Arabic poetry, says with pride:

من بے دیوان شعر نازیباں دارم زب
تو ندانی خواندِ الهی بصحنک فامحین

The people's taste for poetical composition in their own tongue in Persia dates from the third century A. H. When the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs of Baghdad ceased to be suzerains

General taste for Persian poetry in its own home dates from the third century A. H.

and their influence declined, Persia was split into many small and independent states known as the *Tawā'if ul Mulūk*. Although stray instances of Persian verse, which belonged to the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, and even pre-Islāmic days, have been discovered, yet they are too scanty, and form no link with regular versification or the art of poetry in Persia. Men of genius paid all their attention to Arabic lore, and cultivated a taste for Arabian sciences and arts, which made them famous throughout Arabia and the Islāmic world as authors and poets in Arabic. It was more so in the time of the 'Abbāsīd suzerainty, when they took up the composition of *qasā'id* in Arabic, which the Caliphs' court well appreciated.

It is a matter worthy of notice that the 'Arab predominance in Persia had distinctly two phases which fell into two periods. One began with the conquest of Persia and lasted for about two centuries, when the whole country owed allegiance to Arabian civilization and literature, with the result that the native tongue, Persian, was for a time discarded by the Persian people as their literary medium. The other period opened with the third century, when a reaction set in. The Persian nation, realising its individuality, was ablaze with national fervour,

and this was the cause of the overthrow of Arabian influence and authority in Persia. The result was that the 'Arabs, who had in the beginning superimposed their culture on the Persians, were in their turn penetrated to the core by the latter's civilization and language. The 'Arab families had remained in Persia for a considerable time, and had established relations with its people, owing to the Caliphs' suzerain power. Thus the Persian national life and the Persian language had fully asserted their influence over the 'Arabs and found a soft corner in their hearts. They succumbed to Persian manners in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah, and took to the study of Persian literature of which they had taken no notice before. Their authors incorporated hundreds of Persian expressions in their Arabic works, to say nothing of innumerable words which permanently became part of the Arabic vocabulary. Their poets started translating Persian verse into Arabic verse, and entered into subtle niceties of thought.¹ Those of the 'Arabs who did not even go to Persia, nor had occasion to come into personal contact with the Persians, imitated Persian ways of life. Apart from the 'Arab officials, the 'Arab aristocracy too had adopted this fashion. One notable

¹ Cf. a similar feature in Persia when the Persian poets, in the beginning of their career, adopted Arabic verse as their model, and started their national poetry by translating Arabic verse into Persian verse.

instance is to be found in the mode of living of the Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī himself.¹

Only a few instances of Persian poetry prior to the conquest of Persia by the 'Arabs are available. The first person who, according to 'Aufī, composed a verse in Persian was Bahrām Gūr:—

دو قتی آن پادشاه در مقام نشاط و موقوف انہساط این چند کلمہ موزوں
بلفظ راند :-

منم آن شہر گلہ منم آن پیلِ یلہ نام من بہرام گور و کنیتم ہو جبکہ

Bahrām was brought up in Arabia, and was a poet by temperament. He had a full command of the Arabic language, and wrote poems in it, of which some are preserved to us even to this day. 'Aufī had himself seen his Arabic *dīwān* in the library of *Sar-Pul* in Bukhārā, and had transcribed many a poem in his note-book.³ His two verses, which he had composed in reply to the desire of his kinsmen that he should marry a Persian noble's daughter, are quoted below:—

¹ Vide Supra, p. 24.

² 'Aufī, *Lubāb*, vol. I, p. 20.

³ Cf. — *وہندہ در کتابخانہ سر پل بازار چہ بخارا دیوان او دیدہ*
است و در مطالعہ آوردہ است و از انجا اشعار نوشتہ و یاد گرفتہ —
(*Ibid.*, p. 19).

بهرمون نژویجی من الکو طَلَّها و مالی من جنس الملوک عدیل
 اُرک ان مثلی کالمکال وجوده و لیس الی نیل المکال سبیل

His two other verses are as follows:—

فقلت له لما نظرت جنوده کانک لم تسمع بصولات بهرام
 فانی لکامی ملک فارس کله و ما خیر ملک لا یکن له حام

Another notable instance of Persian verse is to be found in an inscription engraved on a broken arc of the *Qasr i Shīrīn*, discovered in the time of 'Azūd-daulah of Dailam. It is considered to be older than Bahrām Gūr's time. It is as follows:—

هو برا بکیهان انوشه بدی جهان را بدیدار توشه بدی

One verse quoted by Mīrzā Asad Bēg in his *Bayāz* runs thus:—

زیان دارد آن هو برا به ددها او شاه ابو نکه نو ثدا نترسا

There is yet another mentioned in the *Tazkira i Āi i Ghaznīn*:—

زین شاهست در داؤر گردا گوز گو ده نه دارد بهم از کس

Besides these few stray verses, there is one Pahlawī epic poem "*Yātgār-i-Zarīrān*" which is attributed to Zoroaster. It is surmised that this poem

¹ Daulat Shāh, p. 17. (Bombay).

served as an incentive to Firdausī and a model for his *Shāh Nāmāh* almost a thousand and five hundred years later. It sings the heroic deeds of the warriors, and extols the powers of the deities. Its rhyme, however, is not perfect, and it has a prosaic tone, which depicts the nature of ancient Persian poetry. It is popularly called "*Shāh Nāma-i-Gushtāsp*" or "*Pahlawī Shāh Nāmāh*". Further, the two famous minstrels of the Sāsānian regimes, who flourished at the court of Khusrav i Parvīz, were Bārbad and Sarakhsh. They have been mentioned by almost all the historians of Persia. The ballads of the former (نوی باربد) are well known to every student of Persian. Sharīf Mujallidī of Gurgān refers to them in the following quatrain:

ازان چندان نعیم این جهانی که مانداز آل ساس و آل سامان
 ثنای دودگر، ماندست و مدحت نوی باربد ماندست و دشتان

These ballads were thirty in number, and were known as سی لحن (thirty musical notes). They were sung on thirty days of the month, each ballad corresponding to a day.

Another important specimen of Persian verse of this period is the following religious song which was composed and sung in Irān by the followers of Zoroaster:

¹ Chahār Maqālāh, p. 35 (Lucknow).

خنیده گر شاسپ هوش	نُرخْتِ بادا دوش
نوش کن می نوش	همی پوست از جوش
بأنریں نهاده گوش	دوست بدا گوش
	به آغوش ۱۲
دی گذشت و دوش	همیشه نیکی کوش
بـآفرین شاهی	شاه خدا یگانه

This shows that Persian poetry, however meagre in form, had existed in Irān in almost every period of the Pre-Islāmic era. There were poets present until the eve of the rise of Islām, as is evidenced by a reference occurring in the 'Arab writer 'Abdullāh Ibn Muqaffa's Preface to his Arabic translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalilah-Damnab*. He says that Naushīrwān had held a public *darbār* and a banquet, to which he had invited all the poets and scholars of his court to celebrate the occasion of the first arrival of this Sanskrit story from India. His special messenger, Barzawaih ibn Azhar, a famous philosopher and physician of his day, who knew Sanskrit well, was the bearer of this work.

The Greek invasion of Persia was a precursor of great disaster and had wrought havoc in the country, causing wide-spread destruction and discontent in the land. Royal man-

Causes of the dearth of Persian poetry in the first and second centuries of the Hijrah.

¹ *Tārikh i Sīstān*, p. 37.

sions and public buildings were all pillaged and burnt. Their religious literature also met with the same fate, and was destroyed in this turmoil. That which remained was again subject to destruction at the hands of the Parthians, whose kingdom lasted for about five centuries. During their regime the national literature of the Zoroastrians met a set-back, and their sacred books were searched and destroyed. This process went on until the overthrow of the Parthians by the Sāsānīds in 226 A. D., when peace was restored in the country, and people enjoyed protection under a strong government against such inroads. In short, the national literature of Persia had been despoiled twice before the 'Arabs appeared on the scene. With regard to the dearth of Persian poetry itself, the following points will have to be observed:—

I. The first cause which appears on the surface is that there seems to have been very little poetry in existence in Persia after the ravages by the Greeks and the Parthians. In fact, the Sāsānian regime cannot boast of any great poets like those who flourished in Persia after the 'Arab conquest and its conversion to Islām, such as Abul 'Abbās, Rūdakī, Daqīqī, 'Unsurī, Firdausī and others. Also, there is no reference to any substantial poetical works in the ancient records that survive, nor are any specimens handed down to us in the form of inscriptions or by

word of mouth, except some religious songs,¹ which give no clue to the existence of any serious and regular poetic art practised in the period under review. These events show that there was indeed very little taste for poetry left among the Persians, and their poetical activities had been reduced to a minimum by the time the 'Arabs made their appearance in Persia.

II. The second cause seems to be that, after the 'Arab occupation of Persia, the Persians had embraced Islām and adopted Arabic, the language of the conquerors, as their literary medium, in preference to their own mother tongue; and so did their poets who sang of the praises of the Caliphs in Arabic, in expectation of rewards and appreciation from them.

III. The third reason appears to be that the 'Arab invasion of Persia was followed by a change of religion for the Persian people, when every house resounded with the Islāmic formula in the Arabic tongue. A cultured people like the Persians, who came to realize the unity of God, after centuries of darkness, devoted themselves, above everything

¹ 'Aufī refrains to classify them under poetry on the ground that there was neither rhyme nor metre in them, cf.—

در عهدِ پرویز نوای خسردانی که آنرا بار بُد در صَوْت آورده است
بسیار است فاما از وزن شعر و فانیت و مراعاتِ نظائر آن دور است —
(Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 20).

else, to the new religion and its literature. In Arabia itself, the same phenomenon had happened. When the verses of the Qur'ān were revealed to the Holy Prophet of Islām, the 'Arab poets who recited their poems at the public places and at the Fairs at *'Ukkāz*, and even hung their compositions on the door of the *Ka'bah*, remained mute for years to come, being overawed by the superior intelligence of the Arabic text of the Holy Qur'ān. The Persians, indeed, had with them little literature of their own worth the name, except the alleged hymns and the legendary tales of their gods Ahriman and Yezdān which, after the teachings of Islām, appeared to them slight and scarcely worth serious attention.

IV. The fourth obvious reason was that the Persians had their own refined culture, and their standard of society was higher than that of the 'Arabs, who were accustomed to hardships of life and plain living. Then again, the fertility and the richness of the Persian soil, as compared with the barrenness of Arabia, had made the Persians fond of an easy, comfortable life. They sought refinement in everything; their motto of life was their wine-cup which virtually taught them to remain contented with what they possessed. Thus it could be seen that they had no ambition or adventurous spirit like the 'Arabs, whose poetry was enlivened with new ideals and heroic sentiments wanting in the Persian people. This was again a set-back to the revival of their

national poetry and literature to which they, for the time being, seem to have paid little or no attention.

V. The fifth reason was that Arabic literature had become comparatively richer in sciences and arts during the earlier centuries of the 'Arab occupation of Persia. The Persians too had contributed to its uplift by adopting the Arabic language as their literary medium. Persian, on the other hand, was neglected in its own home, and its literature also remained poor in material and scope, specially after it had been ransacked by the Greeks and the Pārthians.

In the face of the above facts, it is wrong to suppose that the 'Arabs destroyed or meddled with the literature of Persia. The accusations of the later historians are spurious and have no foundation in fact. The subsequent causes that appear to be solely responsible for the inattention of the Persian people towards their own poetical culture, in the early centuries of the Hijrah, have been briefly stated above and are fully supported by historical facts and internal evidence.

Before entering into the main subject and dilating on the Persian of Mahmūd's time, it seems expedient to mark the stage of its progress prior to his entry into Hindūstān. A short general survey of Persian poetry, demarcating the line of its progress in subject-matter and style, from the very inception

of poetic taste in Persia under Islām to the eve of the Ghaznavid ascendancy, now follows, with a view to helping the reader to understand and appreciate better the age of Mahmūd.

Section II—(i) The first poet in the Persian language under Islām in the 1st century A. H.

(ii) The experiments and activities of poets in the various branches of Persian poetry with their characteristic features during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah, which cover the Tābirīd, the Saffārīd and the Sāmānīd regime.

Persian poetry had not yet made its appearance outside Persia when the Caliph al-Māmūn of Baghdād appointed a noble man of his court, ‘Abdullāh Tāhir bin Husain, as the governor of Khurāsān. The story of his exaltation to this high office was that al-Māmūn had, at first, deputed him against his elder brother, al-Amīn, who was the rightful successor to the Caliphate and was in possession of the throne at Baghdād. Tāhir accomplished this task to his master’s satisfaction by laying siege to the royal palace and forcing al-Amīn to abdicate in favour of his younger brother.¹ He also caused the death of al-Amīn who was under a guarantee of protection of his life, and was permitted to swim across the Tigris to make good his escape. But while the latter was yet in the middle of the stream, Tāhir’s men, who were lying in ambush, shot their arrows at him and killed him before he

¹وكان الامين كثير اللهو... فا قبل ينكث عهدا لما مون فجهر الامامون لقتاله

طاهر بن الحسين و هو ثمة بن اعمى فساروا اليه و حاصروا ببغداد الخ

(Ibn Khaldūn Chap. on al-Māmūn).

could reach the other side. His head was cut off and sent to al-Māmūn who immediately proclaimed himself Caliph. Nevertheless, he remained penitent ever afterwards, and wept over his brother's fate in moments of solitude. The first thing he did by way of penance was to remove Tāhir from his presence by sending him away to Khurāsān as its governor, for otherwise it was difficult to get rid of him and his growing influence at the Capital. The next step was to issue secret instructions for putting him to death, which were carried out by the officials in Khurāsān. Tāhir was succeeded by several governors who, though they outwardly wielded authority in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād, were virtually independent rulers. This line of kings is known in history as the Tāhirīd dynasty which ruled in Persia from 205 A. H. to 260 A. H. The Tāhirīds were succeeded by Ya'qūb Saffār, 'Umar bin Laiṣ and Tāhir bin Muḥammad, who all died in rapid succession, giving place to the Sāmānīd dynasty whose regime in Persia may be called the Golden Age of Persian National Poetry and Arts.

The progress made by the people in the art of Persian poetry under the Tāhirīd and the Saffārīd regime. versification, during the period covered by the Tāhirīd and the Saffārīd dynasties of Persia, was limited in scope and character. Of the various forms practised, *qasīdah*, *masnawī*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī* stand out prominently. Examples of experiments, together

with the extent of the popular taste and the number of poets that arose, will clearly demonstrate the general tendency and the level reached in the art of Persian poetic composition. A short selected list taken from the early Arabic and Persian chronicles is as follows :

1. Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh Himyarī of Yemen.
2. Hakīm Abu Hafs.
3. Abul 'Abbās Mervī.
4. Hinzalah Bādghīsī.
5. Mahmūd Warrāq.
6. Abū Salik Jurjānī.
7. Sa'īdā i Hiravī.

A very strange thing for Persian poetry was that the first poet in the Persian language under Islām happened to be a non-Persian, viz., the celebrated 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of Yemen, a reference to whom has already been made at the beginning of the preceding chapter.¹ There are two very interesting specimens of Persian verse preserved in the early Arabic records, of which one belongs to a period prior to Hakīm Abū Hafs, who was hitherto known to be the pioneer in the field of Persian metrical composition. This specimen verse is from Ibn Mufarrigh who seems to have composed it in about

The first specimen of Persian verse under Islām.

¹ Vide Supra. pp. 18—19.

60 A. H. The circumstances of the composition of this verse may be briefly stated here.

During the Caliphate of Yazid Ibn Mu'āviyah (60-64 A. H.), the famous 'Arab general, 'Abbād ibn Ziyād, was sent by the Caliph to Sīstān as its governor. Along with him the 'Arab poet, Ibn Mufarrigh, also went. On reaching Sīstān, 'Abbād got so deeply absorbed in administrative work and in fresh conquests that he lost all interest in Ibn Mufarrigh. The 'Arab poet felt sore and annoyed at this neglect of himself by 'Abbād. So, he left Sīstān and satirised Ziyād's house and 'Abbād's mother, Sumayyah, in verse, which grew popular and was sung in the streets of Baṣrah and the towns of 'Irāq. 'Abbād, getting enraged at this, ordered the arrest of Ibn Mufarrigh, and sought the Caliph's permission to kill the offender. The Caliph, however, did not grant 'Abbād this permission, but wrote to him to punish the culprit in any way he liked other than by putting him to death. 'Abbād, thereupon, ordered that Ibn Mufarrigh be plied with *nabīẓ*¹, and a dog, a cat and a hog be tied to his waist, and in this fashion he be led through the principal markets of Baṣrah. When the poet was thus being taken round in Baṣrah, which had cultivated the taste for Persian speech and culture, and was followed by groups of people and street urchins who were asking him in Persian in jest این چیست

¹ A fermented liquour prepared out of dates and barley.

(what is this ?), he replied to them in the same refrain thus:—

¹ آہست نبیذ است عمارات ز بیست سمیت روی شہید است

The second specimen is a purely indigenous one. It was the sort of song which was sung in the streets of Balkh in 108 or 109 A. H. Tabarī writes about it thus:

¹ Aghānī, vol. XVII, p. 58.

Note :—Ibn Qutaibah gives the name of the governor as ‘Ubaidullāh bin Ziyād with a slight variation in the text of the last line of the verse and in the narration of the circumstances in which the poet was led through the streets of Baṣrah. Cf.—

فاخذہ عیداللہ بن زیاد فحبسہ و عذبہ و سقاہ الترنج فی النہیز و
حملہ علی بعیر و قرن بہ خنزیرۃ فامشاه بطنہ مشیا شديدا فبان یسہل منہ
ما یخرج علی الخنزیرۃ فتعیء فکلمنا ما مات قال ابن مفرغ :-

ضَبَحْتُ سَمِيَّةً لَمَّا مَسَّهَا الْقَرْنُ لَا تَجْعَلِي إِنْ شَرَّ الشَّيْئَةِ الْجَزَعُ •
و سَمِيَّةٌ أُمُّ زِيَادٍ فَطَلِيفٌ بِهِ فِي أَرْقَةِ الْهَرَّةِ وَأَسْوَأُهَا وَالنَّاسُ يَصِيحُونَ
خَلْفَهُ (اِبْنُ چيست) لَمَّا يَسْهَلُ مِنْهُ وَ هُوَ يَقُولُ :- اَہست نبیذ است
عمارات ز بیست سَمِیہ رو سفیدست

(Kitāb ush Shi'r wash Shu'arā, pp. 210-11).

This is to be noted that the ‘Arab historians have mentioned only *three* lines ; while the Persian chroniclers give *four* complete lines as follows :

آہست و نبیذ است و عمارات ز بیب است
و دَنہُ فرہ و پی است و سَمِیہ ہم رو سَبی است

(Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 96).

Abū Munẓir Asad bin ‘Abdullāh al Qaṣrī, ruler of Balkh, led an expedition against Khuttalān in 108 A. H., but suffered defeat at the hands of the Turkish Amīr, Khaqān. Asad fled to Balkh to save his life. On his entering the city, he was hailed with the following satirical song sung by the people in the Persian language:

¹ از ختلان آمد یه بر و تباہ آمد یه
 آبار باز آمد یه خشک نزار آمد یه

Another specimen which takes precedence over the one just cited has been reproduced by Rīẓa Qulī Khān Hidāyet. It was composed by Hakim Abū Hafs, and is said to have been in existence in the 1st century A. H. It runs thus:—

² آهوی کوهی در دشت چگونه دودا لوندار دبارے یار چگونه بودا

There is yet a fourth specimen preserved in the form of two verses composed by Abul ‘Abbās bin Tarkhān who was the chief Munshī of Ja‘far Barmakī, the famous vazīr of Harūn ul Rashīd. They were found written on the barricade wall of the city of Samrqand towards the close of the 2nd century A. H. The date of their composition may be fixed between 174 and 177 A. H. They are as follows:—

¹ Tabarī, vol. II, p. 2. Leyden.

² Majma‘ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 64.

سَر قند کند مند بزینت کی افکند¹
 از شاهش نه بهی هشی شد نه جبهی

It will not be out of place to mention here in this

The beginnings of Persian prose in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah. The connection that no specimens of Persian prose, pertaining to the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Hijrah, are recorded in history. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, however, a limited number of prose-works appeared which are important from the historical standpoint as being the earliest specimens of Persian prose-writing. With the advent of the 5th century A. H., this taste became distinctly more popular, and a good number of books were written and translated, which widened the scope of Persian literature, absorbing much of the subject-matter of foreign origin. The following list prepared from authentic sources shows at a glance some notable prose-works that had come into existence in Persia by the middle of the 5th century A. H.²

1. *Ā'in i Buzurgī* (Laws of Greatness) by Dādbeh

¹ Kitāb ul Masālik wal Mamālik, p. 22.

² A valuable work entitled "فارسی نثر (قرن چهارم و پنجم)" (by Āqā Mahdī Bayānī, Officer-in-charge, Imperial Library, Teherān) was published at the Capital in the month of Āzar, 1317. It gives a long list of prose-works, written during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Hijrah, together with specimens of their prose.

Pārsī, better known as 'Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa', written in about 237 A. H. This is, perhaps, the earliest specimen of Persian prose that is extant.¹ The author begins by a brief account of his ancestors. It was edited by a learned Persian, Āqā Behrūz, and printed and published at Teherān with a Preface by the editor in 1315 A. H.

2. The Persian translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalilah-Damnab* made from the Arabic version of 'Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa' in about 304 A. H., for Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty. It was entrusted, on completion, to Rūdakī, the famous poet, who put it into Persian verse.

3. The Persian translation of *Tafsīr Kabīr*, an Arabic commentary of the Qur'ān by Abū Ja'far

¹ Āqā Mahdī in his work assigns the first place in the realm of Persian prose to مقدمه شاهنامه written in 346 A. H., at the instance of Abū Mansūr Muḥammad bin 'Abdu'r-razaq Tūṣī, governor of Tūs and Nishāpūr, asserting that it is the oldest prose in Persian extant. Cf. the statement:—

تاریخ اتمام این شاهنامه بطور یکه در مقدمه آن مصرح است سال
۳۴۶ میباشد و بنابر این قدیمترین نثری که بفارسی اکنون در دست است
همین مقدمه شاهنامه ابو منصورى است -
(p. 1).

This is an error, since there were already *two* well-known works (refer nos. 1 and 2 in the given list) in existence long before the author of the said *Shāhnāmā* was even born. The date of the one is 237 and that of the other is 304 A. H. The مقدمه شاهنامه may therefore occupy a third place in the list.

Muhammad ibn Jarīr Tabarī who died in 310 A. H., was made for Manṣūr I, after Tabarī's death, in 350 A. H.

4. The Persian translation of Tabarī's Arabic history entitled *Tārīkh ul Umam wal Mulūk* similarly made for Manṣūr I by his chief Minister, Abū 'Alī Bal'amī, in about 352 A. H.

5. The Persian translation of the Pahlawī text of the *Khudā i Nāmāh* made for the same monarch by his learned Munshī, Qāzī Abū Manṣūr bin 'Abdur-razzāq Mu'ammari, in 352 A. H.

6. The Persian work *Kitāb ul Abniyah'an Haqā'iq ul Adviyah* by a learned physician, Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq of Herāt, on Greek medicine. The year of its composition is 360 A. H. A copy of it in the Kūfī character, dated Shawwāl 447 A. H., is preserved in the library of Vienna, of which a reprint was published by Seligmann in 1859 A. D.

7. An old Persian commentary of the Qur'ān of about the same period exists in the University Library, Cambridge. This is the second part of the work which has survived, and deals with the latter half of the Qur'ān. The first part has not yet been traced.

8. *Tarjumān ul Balāghat* on Persian prosody and rhetoric by Abul Hasan 'Alī Farrukhī, the famous poet of Sultān Mahmūd's court. It was written at Ghaznī in about 395 A. H., before the author's entry into Hindūstān. It is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah

and Daulat Shāh Samarqandī in their works. The latter has also quoted one sentence from it. No copy of it is so far known to exist anywhere.

9. *Tārīkh i Barāmakah* written in chaste Persian towards the close of the 4th century A. H. Its author appears to be one Abul Qāsim bin Ghassān who, in the Preface, styles himself as *مُردِ آردنده اخبارِ آلِ برمک* (the collector of the accounts of the Barmacids). The work was discovered by Mīrzā ‘Abdul ‘Azīm Khān Gūrkanī, lecturer in Persian in the University of Teherān, and printed and published under his editorship in 1353 A. H.

10. *Ghāyat ul ‘Arūziyyīn* on Persian prosody by Abul Ḥasan ‘Alī al Bahrāmī al Sarakhshī, who was a poet of Sultān Mahmūd’s court, and later became an associate and council of Sultān Mas‘ūd. The author of *Al-Mu‘jam*, Shamsuddīn Muḥammad bin Qais al Rāzī, has actually drawn much material from this work in his compilation.

11. *Kanz ul Gharā’ib* on rhetorical beauties of verse by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al Manshūrī, a poet of Sultān Mahmūd’s court. A reference to this work occurs in the *Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn* which fixes the date of its authorship between 399 and 401 A. H. The famous Persian author and poet Rashīduddīn Watwat appears to have later consulted this work while writing his book *Ḥadā’iq us Sibr*, which contains several formulae and canons

of its predecessor with very little change in language. An imperfect copy of it dated 977 A. H., 6th Rajab, is preserved at the Āsī Press Library, Lucknow.

12. *Mi'rāj Nāmāh*, a brief philosophical discourse by Avicenna on *mi'rāj* (the ascension of the Holy Prophet). It was written during the author's stay in the service of Amīr 'Aẓduddīn 'Alā'uddaulah of Iṣfahān in about 419 A. H. The work is mentioned in the list of books assigned to Avicenna by his pupil 'Abdul Wāhid Ibn Muḥammad Jauzjānī. It received the attention of the Persian scholars in recent years, and has been printed and published with a Preface by Professor Bahrām Karīmī at Resht in 1352 A. H.

13. *Risāla i Nabẖīyah*, a very short medical treatise on the art of examining the pulse by the same author. It was written for Amīr 'Alā'uddaulah during the same period of Avicenna's stay at Iṣfahān (417-428).

14. *Dānīsh Nāma i 'Alā'ī*, by the same author. It is a discourse on the *five* branches of philosophical science (Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Mathematics and Music). It was similarly written in Persian *darī* for the same Amīr, and completed just before the author's death which occurred in 428 A. H. The work was edited after his death by the same pupil, 'Abdul Wāhid, who declares that the original section on Mathematics was lost, and that the deficiency was supplied by him. Three sections on

Logic, Ethics and Metaphysical science have been printed in India.

15. *Naurūz Nāmāh*, a short treatise by the famous Persian astronomer and poet, 'Umar Khayyām, believed to have been written in the beginning of the 6th century A. H. It deals with the history and origin of the festivities of the Persian New Year in a most simple and un-adorned style. The published copy is based on the unique Berlin manuscript which attracted the attention of some orientalisists in recent years. It was edited by Āqā Muḡtabā Mīnūvī, and published in 1352 A. H.

16. *Zīnat Nāmāh*, on prosody by Abū Muḡammad 'Abdullāh al Rāshidī of Samarqand who was the court poet of Sultān Malikshāh Saljūqī. It was written some time after 425 A. H. The work is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah and 'Aufī. No copy of it is known to survive.

17. *Khujistab Nāmāh*, on metre and rhyme. 'Aufī in his *Lubāb* assigns the work to Abul Ḥasan 'Alī al Bahrāmī al Srahshī, author of the *Ghāyat ul 'Arūziyyīn*. The date of its authorship may be fixed between 427 and 431 A. H. No copy of it is extant.

18. *Tārikh i Baihaqī*, by Abul Fazl Muḡammad of Baihaq. It is a most important work of the Ghaznavīd period. It deals with the history of the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḡmūd of Ghaznī, from 421 to 432 A. H. It is the remaining portion of an extensive history of the Ghōr Dynasty which is

said to have consisted of no less than 30 volumes, as stated by Mīrkhwand. Its proper title was *آل سہنکین*. The part which is extant is appropriately called *تاریخ مسعودی* after the name of Sultān Mas'ūd, with whose administration and achievements it exclusively deals. It comprises volumes VII, VIII, and IX of the original work. The author, when recording his master's death in 431 A. H. (p. 749), says that he had been working under him for 19 years, and had always been treated by him with the utmost consideration and fatherly love. The work is brought down to the month of *Safar* 432 A. H., and has been printed and published in instalments in India and Persia.

19. *Zain ul Akhbār*, also called *Tārīkh i Gard-ezī* after the name of its author, Abū Sa'id 'Abdu'l Rahmān bin Zāhhāk bin Maḥmūd Gard-ezī, who was a contemporary of al-Bīrūnī. It was written at Ghaznī in 440 A. H., on the pattern of al-Bīrūnī's *Aṣār ul Bāqiyah*. A part of it has been printed and published under the editorship of Dr. Nāzīm at Berlin from the rare manuscripts in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

20. *Farhang i Fārsī*, by 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Asadī Tūsī, the chief poet of the court of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It is also called *Lughāt i Furs* (Persian lexicon). It is a valuable poetical record of the early poets who mostly lived in the author's time, and is believed to have been written in 443 A. H. (circ.).

References to this work occur in many of the historical, biographical and poetical records belonging to the 5th and 6th centuries of the Hijrah.

21. *Safar Nāma i Ḥakīm Nāsir Khusrau*, by Abū Mun'im Nāsir bin Khusrau of Merv, who was a clerk in the government Accounts Office in Khurāsān. The work is a narrative of his journey to Mecca, which he undertook in 437 A. H. to perform *Haj*, in pursuance of a dream he had in his sleep. He took full five years to reach Mecca, travelling by a longer route through Nīshāpūr, Dāmghān, Rai, Qazvīn, Moṣal, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, and making prolonged halts in the towns and cities he visited on his way. He returned to Merv in 444 A. H., travelling along the Arabian coast through Yemen, Makallah, Bahrain, Baṣrah and Iṣfahān. In the same year he wrote his book of travel in simple and chaste language, describing fully the experiences of his travel, the towns and places he visited, and the people he met. It has been printed and published in Berlin and Teherān. A recent edition by Dr. Nāzīm has appeared from the University Press, Cambridge.

22. *Tārīkh i Bal'amī*, by Muḥammad bin 'Abdul-lāh-al-Bal'amī, the famous *vaṣīr* of Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Samānīd dynasty. It was written by the author in his old age in about 446 A. H.

23. *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Mawālī written in about 448 A. H., and subsequently continued by Maḥmūd bin Yūsuf Iṣfahānī in the first

quarter of the 8th century A. H., after a gap of more than two and a half centuries from the date of the author's death. This is a very important historical work which throws ample light on the literary aspects and poetical activities of Persia during the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijrah. The work was lately discovered in Persia, and edited by Bahār, the poet-laureate of modern Persia. It has been printed and published at Tehērān with a copious index and valuable notes and appendices by the editor.

After the 'Arab poet, Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh, and the Persian poet, Hakīm Abū Hafs, who lived and composed the historic Persian verses in the 1st century A. H., there arose in Persia numerous poets in the 2nd century of the Hijrah, whose works may be said to possess an abiding place in the realm of Persian poetry. Of these, Abul 'Abbās and Hinzalah deserve special mention. The first-named composed a marvellous *qasīdāb* eulogising the Caliph al-Māmūn, at Merv, in 193 A. H. Some lines recorded by 'Aufī are given below. In this *qasīdāb* the poet asserts that no one ever wrote a like poem in Persian language before him:—

The poets of the 2nd century A.H., and the first specimen of a *qasīdāb*.

۱^۱ ای دسانیده بدولت فرقی خود تا فرقدین
گسترانیده بجد و فعل در عالم یدین

¹ Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 21.

Note :—Browne and Qazwīnī, the well-known modern critics, have expressed a doubt as to the authenticity of this *qasīdah*. While the former has preferred to remain silent as to his points of difference, the latter has come out with the following reasons :—(Bist Maqālah, p. 50)

1. The metre of the *Qasīdah* is Arabic (i.e. *Ramal Muṣamman Maqsūr*) which was not adopted in Persia until the close of 200 A. H. Hence if this *qasīdah* had been composed in that period, its metre should have been different.

2. Arabic words abound in this *qasīdah*, while the admixture of Arabic words with Persian speech was not so common up to the time of al-Manṣūr. Also, the language of the *qasīdah* is more lucid than could be imagined to be in that age.

3. The Arabic metres came into vogue in Persia with their introduction by Khalīl Ahmad bin Farāhidī, whose death occurred in 175 A. H.; while the date of the *qasīdah* is 193 A. H. It is, hence, inconceivable that during this short period of 18 years Arabic metres and rules of prosody had acquired so much popularity in Khurāsān, which was remote from the seats of learning in Arabia, that people began to compose verses in Arabic metres.

4. ‘Aufī alone has made a mention of this *qasīdah* in his *Lubāb*, and no other writer from among his predecessors or contemporaries has made any reference to this important event.

These objections of Qazwīnī, specially Nos. 1 and 2, do not appear to be historically sound, although, *prima facie* it might strike a student of literature how the language of the *qasīdah* of Abul ‘Abbās came to be so chaste, and why it abounds in Arabic words. But it is a fact universally acknowledged by early ‘Arab historians and later Persian writers that the Persians, after their conversion to Islām in the first century of the Hijrah, were so profoundly influenced by ‘Arab culture and inclined towards the acquisition of Arabic sciences and literature that they cared little to save their old literature or to continue their national poetry. By the close of the 2nd century A. H., they

مر خلافت را تو شایسته چو مردم دیده را
دین یزدان را تو بایسته چو رخ را هر دو عین

had attained complete mastery of Arabic, and their poets not only made abundant use of Arabic words in their Persian composition, but also wrote with ease in Arabic, and followed Arabic rhyme and metre. Abul 'Abbās was a good instance of this. He had acquired considerable knowledge of Arabic. Rizā Qulī Khān observes as follows:—

خواجہ ابوالعباس مروری کہ درلسان تازی و پارسی طایق اللسان
بود نظمے پارسی و عربی بہم آمیختہ در مدح مامون منظوم و موزون نمود -

Khawjah Abul 'Abbās of Merv, who was fluent both in Arabic and Persian, prepared a composite poem, mixing Arabic with Persian vocabulary, in praise of al-Māmūn.

(Majma 'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 64).

Another poet Wasīf of Khujistān, who lived only 30 years after Abul 'Abbās, composed several *qasā'id* in Persian which contain even a greater ratio of Arabic words than his predecessor's composition did. Not only this, but quotations and references from the Holy Qur'ān are noticeable in his verses, e.g. (الیوم) , لمن الملك (کم من) , نکتہ قلیلة , and فاستقم (کما امرت) are used in the following lines:—

لن الملك بخوانندی توا میرا بییقین با قلیل الفیه کد زاد دران لشکر کام

قولی خداوند بخوان فاستقم معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست

In fact, a display of Arabic was held to be the sign of literary accomplishment; whereas mere Persian composition did not entitle an author to that distinction.

The Persians who are famous for adaptability thought it their religious duty to learn Arabic, because it was essential for offering their prayers and the reading of the Holy Qur'ān and

کس بریں منوال پیش از من چنین شعرے نہ گفت
 مر زبان پارسی را هست تا این نوع بین

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet.

Again, the lucidity of a composition much depends on the comprehension and capability of an individual poet. For example, Rūdakī, who belongs to the 3rd century A. H., is so fluent in his diction that he may easily be mistaken for a very modern poet like Qā'ānī who flourished in the 13th century A. H. Another example is Waṣif who has to his credit verses which seem to belong to the modern era. Notice the following :

ای امیری که امیرانِ جهانِ خامه و عام
 بنده و چاکر و مولی و سکانند و غلام

اولِ مخلوق چه باشد زوال کارِ جهانِ اول و آخر یکبست
 قولِ خداوند بخوان فاستقم معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست

دولتِ یعقوب درینا برفت ماند عقوبت به عقب بر حواس
 هر چه کردیم بخوانیم دید سود ندارند ز قضا احتواس

(Tārīkh i Sīstān, pp. 210, 260 and 286).

The third objection as to how it was possible for the Persians to assimilate Arabic laws of poetry and follow them in their Persian composition within the short period of 18 years is a mincing of facts. First, the learned critic has erred in the counting of figures, i.e., 18 years have been calculated since 175 A. H., which is the year of Khalil's death. But we have nothing to do with the date of his death as it throws no light on the real issue. We have only to see in what years the introduction of Arabic metres and laws of prosody took place in Khurāsān. According to the statement of the 'Arab historians, the date of Khalil's birth is 100 A. H., and the rules and regulations of Arabic metres were introduced in Persia between the years 143 and 145 A. H.; while the date of the qasīdah is 193

لیک زان گفتم من این مدحت ترا تا این لغت
گیرد از مدح و ثنای حضرت تو زیب و زین

A. H. Hence it is evident that Arabic metres were popularised in Khurāsān during the long period of 50 years, and not 18 as stated by Qazwīnī. Again, these laws of poetry, which, however, remained a theory, were introduced and taught in schools which, as a matter of fact, produced no poets of repute. The real poetry came from outside. Poets like Abul 'Abbās, Hinzalah and Waṣīf, perhaps, never cared or waited for Khalīl's rules. They followed straight in the footsteps of the 'Arab poets who wrote long before Khalīl's birth.

The second point worthy of notice is that the historians have named Khurāsān دارالعلم, the seat of learning of that period.

It was in fact the centre of Arabic and Persian cultures. Even Baghdād did not show so much educational awakening as did Khurāsān. Also, because practice generally preceded theory, it appears quite likely that the rules of poetry were framed long after they had been followed by the people in Persia. It was only at the stage when the Arabic metres had become common in Khurāsān, and the poets used to write in them, that the need was felt to prevent the mediocre poet from committing errors in his poetical composition. It is an admitted fact that the grammar of a language follows its literature.

The fourth objection that none of 'Aufī's contemporaries or predecessors has mentioned this important event, though partially true, is feeble. The *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, which is an earlier work does, no doubt, declare that there was no poet in Persia prior to Muḥammad bin Waṣīf, cf.—

محمد بن و صیف حاضر بود.... پس شعر فارسی گفتن گرفت و اول
شعر پارسی اندر عجم او گفت و پیش از و کسے نگفته -

Muḥammad bin Waṣīf was present....., so he took to Persian metrical composition. And the first Persian verse in Persia he composed, and none else did it before him (p. 209).

But this view cannot be relied upon, since there were poets

When this *qasīdah* was read in the open court, it was greatly appreciated and applauded by the audience. The Caliph was so very pleased with it that he conferred on Abul ‘Abbās a costly robe of honour with rich presents and an annual grant of one thousand gold *mohars* for the rest of his life by way of reward.¹ ‘Aufī remarks that no poet could supplant or even imitate this *qasīdah* up to the time of the

in Persia who composed verses in Persian even in the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, like Ibn Mufarrigh, Hakīm Abū Hafs Sughdī, Hinzalah Bādghisī and ‘Abbās bin Tarkhān. The author of the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* was evidently not aware of the existence of any of these poets, nor did he in his lifetime ever know their verses which were discovered later. The same may be said in the case of Abul ‘Abbās whose *qasīdah* was similarly not known to this author.

¹ Rizā Qulī Khān agreeing with ‘Aufī gives a good reason for the Caliph’s attention and liberal support to Persian poetry in the following statement :—

چون مامون شعر فارسی کمتر شنیده بود و بواسطه حکمرانی در خراسان
بدانستنی زبان پارسی شوق تمام داشت دل بدان اشعار و گفتار خوش کرده
و خواجه را به تحسین و احسان بنواخت و یک هزار دینار زر عین بهله
و جایزه وی علی الاستمرار مقرر داشت —

(Majma ‘ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 64)

Note:—The real reason probably was that al-Māmūn, who had come from Baghdād to reside temporarily in Khurāsān, was seeking the sympathy and help of the Persian people for his political ambition against his brother, al-Amīn, who had succeeded to the Caliphate. This evidently he could not hope to gain without showing his goodwill and patronage to Persian letters.

Samānids. This is the first specimen of *qasīdah*-writing that Persian poetry presents. It was so replete with poetic grace and grandeur worthy of a *qasīdah* that none ventured to attempt writing anything in that style for some time to come.

After this, we must notice the poetical effusions

First specimen of of Hinzalah Bādghisī (deceased *rubā'ī*. 219 A. H.) who was a celebrated

poet of the 2nd century A. H. The number of his verses is reported to be some thousands, but, unfortunately, his *diwān*, which is mentioned by Nizāmī 'Arūzī Samarqandī, is lost today, and only two quatrains of his survive. He occupies the first rank among the earliest Persian poets for having enhanced the prestige of poetical composition as an Art, and compiled a *diwān*, which has been regarded as a prototype for his contemporaries and successors. Nizāmī has recorded this fact in connection with a strange incident. He says that Ahmad bin 'Abdullāh Khujistānī rose from a very humble position to the exalted office of governor of Khurāsān through reading only two verses of Hinzalah. One day when he was looking into Hinzalah's *diwān*, of which he was very fond and a copy of which he always kept with him, his eyes fell on the following quatrain:—

مہتری گر بکام شیر در است تو خطو کن زکام شیر بجوی
یا بزرگی و عز و نعمت و جاہ یا چو مردانت مرگ رویا روی

If kingship lies within the jaws of a lion,
Risk thyself, and get it from his jaws;
Either you will attain greatness, honour, riches
and rank,
Or like the brave you will face death.

His manly ambition was stirred and he felt incited to improve his lot by striving hard to acquire an honourable place in life. Ultimately he succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Khurāsān, which was the richest Province of Persia, being the centre of Persian culture and trade. His second quatrain which fulfils the condition of rhyme also, and hence is worthy of being called perfect, is the following:—

یارم سپنداگر چه بر آتش ہی فکند²
از بہر چشم تا نرسد مرورا گزند
اورا سپند و آتش ناید ہی بکار
باری ہمسجو آتش و باخال چوں سپند

An honoured contemporary of his was Mahmūd Warrāq whose year of death is given as 221 A. H. In other words, he died only two years after the death of Hinzalah. The dates⁷ of their birth are not recorded

¹ *Chahār Maqālah*, p. 34.

² *Lubāb*, Vol. II, p. 2.

anywhere, and because of this fact it is difficult to assert the priority of the one over the other. Like Hinzalah, Warrāq too was an eloquent and mighty poet though only one quatrain of his survives in the history of poetry:—

نگارینا به نقد جانست ندهم گرانی در بها ارزانت ندهم¹
گرفتسم بجان دامن وصلت نهم جان از کف و دامانت ندهم

Two other poets of this period, who are worthy of notice, are Abū Salīk Jurjānī and Sa'idā i Hiravī. Their works are equally scarce. But in what is preserved, we notice didactic and ethical features as the most prominent elements. Some verses by way of illustration are quoted below:

در میانست عرض

خون خود را گر بریزی بر زمین به که آبِ روی ریزی در کنار
بت پرستیدن به از مردم پرست پند گیر و کار بند و گوش‌دار
وله

بمژه دل زمن بدزد دیدی ای بلب قاضی و همزگی دزد
مزد خواهی که دل زمن ببری این شگفتی که دید دزد بمزد

¹ *Majma'ul Fusahā*, Vol. I, p. 511.

² *Lubāb*, Vol. II, p. 3.

Note:—Rizā Qulī Khān Hidayet gives the last verse as follows:

مزد خواهی که دل زمن ببری ای شگفتا که دیده دزدی و مزد

(*Majma'ul Fusahā*, Vol. I, p. 66)

The poetry of the first two centuries is indicative of the fluency and simple diction in which emotions are truly depicted. There is comparatively little hair-splitting and intricate philosophical conceit of the later poets in the poetry of this age. The similes used are for the most part natural, and the real meaning does not lie hidden under the thick veil of metaphorical language. The earliest characteristic of Persian poetry is this freedom from all complexity and obscurities. It throws light on the following points in particular:—

General features
of poetry in the 1st
and 2nd centuries
A. H.

- (i) A taste for poetry existed in Persia for some time past, prior to the advent of Islām, and the poets used to amuse themselves by the exercise of their wit. The fluency of the verses quoted above prove the fact that they could not have been the very first or the earliest attempts at verse-making.
- (ii) The free admixture of Arabic words with Persian had started in Persia almost immediately after the 'Arab domination, and the poets regarded this as a source of the enrichment of the diction and enhancement of beauty of style.¹

¹ Notice 18 Arabic words in the 4 couplets of Abul 'Abbās :—

- (iii) The foundations of *qasīdah* and *rubā'ī* were already laid. The verses quoted are the earliest specimens under Islām.

The list of the poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah is a long one. The poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and the advent of Persian poetry in India. Among them there were many who wrote complete poetical works with facility, and laid the art of Persian versification under deep obligation, greatly widening and enlarging the field of various forms of poetry, e.g., the *maṣnawī*, *qasīdah*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī*. They framed rules for each of these in such a way that poetical composition became easier for their successors who have trodden the path with their eyes almost shut ever since. The taste for Persian poetry in India dates with the coming of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who led his army into the Panjāb towards the end of the 4th century A. H. He was the first great royal patron of poetry among all his predecessors and contemporaries, and it was he who founded the rank of *Malik ush Shu'arā'*¹ for the

فرق - دولت - جود - فضل - عالم - يد - خلافة - دين - عين -
منوال - شعر - نوع - بن - مدحت - لغت - مدح - ثنا - حضرت -

Also, 4 Arabic words in the first quatrain of *Hinzalah* :—

خطر - عز - نعمت - چاه -

¹ The term means "King of Poets" a title corresponding to *Poet-laureate*.

cultivation of Persian poetry. The first poet-laureate appointed by him was 'Unṣurī.

The following is a selected list of the poets of the 3rd century which includes some of the best poets of the Samānīd regime :—

1. Muḥammad bin Waṣīf.
2. Muḥammad bin Muḥallad.
3. Fīrūz Mashriqī¹.
4. Rūdakī.
5. Abū Shakūr Balkhī.
6. Abul Mu'ayyid.
7. Abul 'Abbās Zanjānī.
8. Shahīd Balkhī.
9. Abū 'Abdullāh Farālāwī.
10. Khabbāzī Nishāpūrī.
11. Abul Maṣāl Kūhī.
12. Abul 'Ulā Nawa'ihī.
13. Abū Taqī Rāzī.
14. Murādi Bukhārī.

The Sāmānīd dynasty remained in power for over a century and a quarter prior to the Ghaznavīd dynasty, and, because of their literary taste and patron-

¹ In some biographical works the reading is "Mushrif". "Mushrif" was an old habitation on the coast of Yemen, from where the dynasty is said to have migrated.

age, rendered distinguished service to Persian literature and art, specially to poetry. Their rule came to a close in 395 A. H., beginning from about 261 A. H., when the Caliph Mu'tazid billāh had appointed the sons of Asad bin Sāmān as governors of the protected dominions of Persia and the Central Asian states. The dynasty was called after the name of Asad's father, Sāmān, who was an 'Arab. Asad, the founder of the dynasty, was a favourite noble of Mamūn ul Rashid's court. Among his descendants, the most notable princes who helped in the uplift and evolution of Persian poetry were Naṣr bin Aḥmad bin Ismā'il, Nūh and Maṣṣūr. Their court was the resort of men of letters. A short description of some of the distinguished poets from among those mentioned above is given below :—

Muḥammad bin Waṣīf was a prominent poet of the Saffārid period who completed a *diwān*. Those verses of his that are extant are in the form of panegyric odes. Of these, there are two important *qaṣīdas* composed in the manner and style of Abul 'Abbās. The one written on the occasion of Amīr Ya'qūb's conquest of Herāt and his peaceful possession of Sistān, Kermān and Fārs is as follows :—

Muḥammad bin
Waṣīf, Muḥammad
bin Muḥallad and
Fīrūz Mashriqī.

1 ای امپروی کت امپیران جهان خامه و عام
 بنده و چاکر و مولای و سگاند و غلام
 از لی خطی در لوح که ملکی بد هید
 بی ابی یوسف یعقوب بن الیث هام
 بتمام آمد زنبیل و لتی خور بلنگ
 لتوه شد لشکر زنبیل و هها گشت کتام
 لمن الملک بخواندی توا میرا بییقین
 با قلیل الفیه کد زاد و دران لشکر کلام
 عمر عمار ترا خواست و زو گشت بزی
 تیغ تو کرد میانجی میان دد و دام
 عمر او نزد تو آمد که تو چون نوح بزی
 در آکار تن اوسراو باب طعام

His other *qasīdah* runs thus:—

2 مملکتی بود شده بے قیاس	عمر و بران ملک شده بود راس
از حد هند تا بحد چین و ترک	از حد رنگ تا بحد روم و گاس
راس زنب گشت و بشد مملکت	زر زده شد ز نکوست نکاس
دولت یعقوب دریغا برفت	ماند عقوبت بعقب بر حواس
عمر و رفت و زو ماند باز	مذهب درباه به نسل و نواس
ای غما کا مد و شادی گزشت	بود دام دائم ازین پر هراس
هر چه بکر دیم بخواهیم دید	سود ندارد ز قضا احتراس
ناس شدند نسناس آنکه همه	راز همه نسناس گشتند ناس

¹ *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, p. 210 (Note: only six lines are quoted).

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

دور فلک گردنِ چوں آسپا لا جرم این اُس همه کرد آس
ملک ابا هزل نکرد انتساب نور ز ظلمت نکند اقتباس
چهد و جدِ یعقوب باید همی ناکه ز جدّه بدر آید ایاس

And again:—

¹کوشی بنده سبب از بخشش است کار قضا بود و ترا عیب نیست
بود و نبود از صفت ایزد است بنده در مانده بیچاره کیست
اول مخلوق چه باشد زوال کار جهان اول و آخر یکیست
قول خداوند بخوان فاستقم معتقدی شو و بران بریاست

Another poet of the same period was Muhammad bin Muḥallad. Some of his Persian verses that survive are as follows:

²جز تو نژاد حوا و آدم نکشت شیر نهادی بدل و بر منشت
معجز پیغمبر مکی توئی بکنش و بمنش و بگوش
فخر کند عمار روزی بزرگ که همانم من که یعقوب کشت

Next comes Fīrūz Mashriqī whose time was nearly a century prior to that of 'Unsuri' and about 65 years after Hinzalah. The date of his death is 283 A. H. Only one quatrain and one verse which give us some idea of his style are preserved:—

¹ Ibid., p. 260.

² Ibid., p. 212.

مرغیست خدنگ ای عجب دیده¹ مرغیکه همه شکار او جانا
داده پر خویشی کر گش هدیۀ تا بچه اشی را برد به مهمانا

سر و سمن ترا در مشک تر زلف مشکین تو سو تا پا گرفت

The leading poet of the Sāmānīd regime was Rūdakī, the re-
nowned poet of the Abū ‘Abdullāh Ja‘far bin Muḥam-
Sāmānīds; essentials mad, surnamed Rūdakī. He was
of his poetry. born blind and had a charming
voice and could sing most beautifully. He was a
great success as a courtier, and was a genius with a
fine poetic taste and wit. While quite young, he
entered the service of Naṣr bin Aḥmad, and rose to
the high office of ‘King’s courtier’. Of the various
forms of poetry, he enriched the ode and lyric, and
raised their level to a high standard. His lyrics
(*ghazals*) are marked by their fluency, simplicity and
charm combined with a sonorous effect; while his
odes (*qasā'id*), which retain all these qualities, display
the essentials laid down by himself, viz., *tashbīb*
(*تشبیب*),³ *gurīz* (گریز)⁴ and *du‘ā* (دعا).⁵ He has been

¹ Lubāb, Vol. 11, p. 2.

Note the following variation in the first verse:—

مرغیست خدنگ او عجب دیدی مرغیکه شکار او همه جانا

² Majma ‘ul Fuṣṣḥā, Vol. I, p. 381.

³ Literally, to recall the youthful days. In a restricted

in this respect imitated by the Persian poets ever since. He was the first Persian poet who took a fancy for Indian thought and wit, and influenced the growth of Persian poetry in India. He put into verse the story of *Kalilah-Damnab* from a simple prose version which was specially prepared for this purpose from the Arabic translation of Ibn ul Muqaffa'. Rūdakī undertook this work at the instance of his master, Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who had deputed men whose duty was to read to the blind poet portions from this prose text, and then take down his off-hand poetical rendering of the same.¹ Firdausī has referred to this historic incident in his great epic, the *Shāh Nāmāh* thus :—

کلیله بتازی شد از بهاوی بدینسان که اکنون همی بشنوی

sense, it signifies a discourse with the loved one and refers to the introductory lines of the ode written in praise of the person eulogised. *

⁴ A flight towards praise.

⁵ The concluding part of a poem bearing the good wishes of the poet.

¹ It may be noted in this connection that all great poets had their reciters whose duty was to recite the poems of their masters on suitable occasions. It was considered below the dignity of a poet to recite his verses himself. The chief reciter of Rūdakī's verses was *Maj* who is addressed by Rūdakī thus :—

ای میج کنون تو شعر من از بر کن و بخوان
از من دل و سگالش و ز تو تن و زبان

O *Maj*, thou shouldst now learn my poems by heart and recite them, From me comes the heart and the thought, and from thee the body and the tongue.

بتازی همی بود تا گاه نصر	بدانکه که شد در جهان شاه نصر
گرانمایه بوالفضل دستور اوی	که اندر سخن بود گنجور اوی
بفرمود تا پارسی و دری	بگفتند و کوتاه شد دای دری
ازین پس بد و رسم و رای آمده	بد و بر خرد رهنمای آمده
همی خواستی آشکار و نهان	کزو یادگار بود در جهان
گزارنده را پیش نشانند	همه نامه بر رودکی خوانند
به پیوست گویا پراگنده را	بسفت این چنین در آگنده را

This Indian story, which was regarded as a book of the wisdom of the *savants* of India, became very popular in Khurāsān and other parts of Persia. The Sanskrit story had been previously translated into Arabic and Persian prose, and these prose translations were in existence in Rūdakī's time, but the universal popularity of the tale demanded a poetical rendering of it by no less a person than the poet-laureate himself. When he finished the poem and presented it to the king, he was royally rewarded with a robe of honour and forty thousand *dirhams* in cash. 'Unṣurī, the poet-laureate of the Ghaznavīd court, refers to this great event thus :

چهل هزار درم رودکی ز مهتر خویش عطا گرفت به نظم کلیله در کشور

Forty thousand *dirhams* Rūdakī from his master
Obtained for his poem *Kalilah* in the king's
dominion.

The contemporary and later opinion about him

is that no poet of such comprehensive skill ever lived before him. This is amply borne out by reference to his works. Rashidī Samarqandī styles him as a *master of masters*, and states that he counted all the verses of Rūdakī *thirteen* times and found them to be over one hundred thousand. He says:—

گر سری یا بد بعالم کس به نیکو شاعری¹
 دودکی را بر سر آن شاعران زید سری
 شعرِ اود را بر شمر دم سیزده ده صد هزار
 هم فزون تر آید از چو نان که باید بشمری

There is a very famous ode of his of which only six couplets, as quoted by Nizāmī ‘Arūzī Samarqandī, are extant. It is not an ode but a practical sorcery. It is stated that Rūdakī composed this ode at the instance of the nobles of the court who had become quite tired and disgusted with being encamped on the lawns of Herāt in attendance upon the king for full four years. It was written simply to persuade the king to go back to Bukhārā. As soon as the ode was read out in the royal court, the king was so deeply moved by it that he ordered his army to leave for Bukhārā immediately. The king himself showed so much haste that he mounted his steed without even waiting for his riding boots to be brought to him, and knew no rest until he reached Bukhārā by a non-stop ride.

¹ Lubāb, Vol. 11, p. 7.

Nizāmī describes this episode in the following words:

نصر بن احمد که واسطه عقد آل سامان بود..... در زمستان به
 ملک دارالملک بخارا مقام کرده و تابستان به سر قند رفته مگر یک سال
 نوبت هری بود به فصل بهار ببا دغیس بود که با دغیس خرم ترین چرا
 خوارهای خراسان و عراق است..... چون امیر نصر بن احمد مهرگان و
 ثمرات او بدید عظیمش خوش آمد - امیر گفت تابستان کجا رویم که
 ازین خوشتر مقام نباشد مهرگان برویم و چون مهرگان در آمد گفت مهرگان
 هری بخوریم و برویم - همچنین فصلی به فصلی همی انداخت تا چهار سال
 برین آمد..... همه ملول گشتند و آرزوی خانمان برخاست پادشاه را ساکن
 دیدند..... پس سران لشکر و مهتران ملک بنزدیک استاد ابو عبدالله
 آوردنکی افتند و گفتند پنج هزار دینار ترا خدمت کنیم اگر صنعتی بکنی
 که پادشاه ازین خاک حرکت بکند که دلهای ما آرزوی فرزند همی بود و
 جان ما از اشتیاق بخارا همی بر آید رودکی قبول کرد که نبض امیر گرفته
 بود و مزاج او بشناخته - دانست که به نثر با او درنگبرد روی به نظم
 آورد و قصیده بگفت و در پرده عشاق این قصیده آغاز کرد :-

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی

بس فرو تر شود و گویند :

دیگ آموی و درشتهای او	زیر پایم پر نیان آید همی
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست	خنک مارا تا میان آید همی
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی	مهر سویت شادمان آید همی
مهر ماه است و بخارا آسان	ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

میو سر و است و بخارا بوستان سر و سوی بوستان آید همی
 چون رودکی بدین بیت رسید امیر چنان منفعل گشت که از تخت
 فرود آمد و بی موزه پای در دکان خنک نو بتی آورد و روی به بخارا نهاد
 و عنان تا بخارا هیچ جای باز نگرفت و رودکی آن پنج هزار دینار مضاعف
 از لشکر بستید.... هنوز این قصیده را کس جواب نگفته است که مجال
 آن ندیده اند -

“Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who was a precious link in the chain of the Sāmānīd dynasty, used to halt in winter at Bukhārā, and in summer at Samarqand. He remained in spring at Bādghīs because it is the happiest and most fertile meadow of Khurāsān and ‘Irāq. When Amīr Naṣr bin Aḥmad saw its spring and its fruits, he was well pleased with it. The Amīr said, “Where could we go in summer, because there is no place better than this?” “We shall go in spring.” But when the spring season came, he said he would remain and enjoy the spring at Herāt, and will go afterwards. In this way he postponed his departure from one season to the other until four years passed. All became weary, and the desire for going home obsessed them. They found the king unmoved. So the heads of the army and the officers of the government went to Abū ‘Abdullāh al Rūdakī and said to him “We shall present you with five thousand *dinārs*, if you suggest some device by which the king should move from this place, because our hearts yearn for our children and our souls keenly desire to see Bukhārā.

Rūdakī accepted this request of theirs, for he had felt the pulse of the Amīr and understood his temper well. He knew that he could produce no effect upon the king by mere prose (i.e. talking to the king in plain language). He, therefore, turned his attention to poetry, and composed a *qasīdah*, and began to sing it in *parda i 'ushshāq* (lovers' air) as follows:—

The smell of the stream of the *Mūliyān* cometh,
The breath of the kind friend cometh.

Then in a lower note he sings :

The sands of the *Āmū* and its rough path
Come under my feet like silk ;
The water of the *Jaiḥūn*, in its joy to see the face
of the loved one,
Cometh up to the buttocks of our horses ;
O Bukhārā, be happy and live long, *
The Amīr cometh towards thee joyfully ;
The Amīr is the moon, and Bukhārā the sky,
The moon cometh towards the sky,
The Amīr is the cypress, and Bukhārā the
garden,
The cypress cometh towards the garden.

When Rūdakī came to this verse, the Amīr felt so much that he got down from his throne and walked up to the royal horse, and without putting on his leggings he rode off for Bukhārā, and did

not stop on the way until he reached his destination. Up till now none has composed a counterpart to this ode because not one dared do it."

The truth is that both in Rūdakī's lifetime and after his death, many a poet of repute tried to compete with him in the same metre, but none could attain his beauty of expression and thought. Even Amir Mu'izzī, the *poet-laureate* of the court of Malik Shāh Saljūqī, who was later approached by people with a request to write a parallel ode, pleaded his inability to do so, saying, "I cannot." But when pressure was brought to bear on him by his friend and colleague, Zain ul Mulk Iṣfahānī, he composed a few couplets of which two are preserved as follows:—

دستم از مازند دال آید همی زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی
آفرین و مدح و سود آید همی گر به گنج اندر زبان آید همی

The difference between this composition and that of Rūdakī is apparent.

Rūdakī is the first poet who embodied in his ode the essential features of the true ode.

His گریز or 'skip', as displayed in the lines given below, is remarkable. He compares a garden to Paradise, and descanting thereon gracefully glides into praising the king, Abū Maṣṣūr Sāmānī, almost without attracting our notice; nor is there any visible premeditation in this regard by the poet:—

¹بود هر جا بهر نر هتگاه بار و نقل و مل
 گلستان در گلستان و ميهوه اندر ميهوه زار
 يار من گفتا بهشت است اى شگفت ایں باغ نيست
 گفتم ایں باغيست خرم چون بهشت کردگار
 آن بهشت ناپديد است ایں بهشت استے عيان
 ایں به نقد است آن به نسيه آن نهاں ایں آشکار
 آن مكافات نياز است ایں مكافات مديح
 آن عطای کردگار است ایں عطای شهر يار

We do not find anything equal to this delicacy in Persian poetry prior to Rūdakī. During the Ghaznavid days, 'Unsuri and Farrukhī closely followed in their odes his style which remained a standard up to the age of Salmān (deceased 785 A. H.). Rūdakī invariably begins his *qasīdah* in a key of sublimity and grandeur which the best poets of the later generation like Anwarī and Zahir Fāryābī adopted. 'By way of

¹ Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, MSS. p. 22. The Āsī Press Library, Lucknow.

Note:—The Teherān edition dated 1315 A. H. is not reliable, as it has hopelessly mixed up the works of Hakim Qatrān, Rūdakī's contemporary. The verses quoted here as Rūdakī's composition were duly checked from a valuable MS. of the Dīwān of Qatrān in possession of my worthy friend, Dr. Hādī Hasan, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. For more information about Rūdakī's works and how they got mixed up with Qatrān's, vide Sa'id Nafisī's "أحوال و أشعار أبو عبد الله جعفر محمد رودکی" published in 2 vols. at Teherān (1309 A. H.)

example the opening verse of an ode is quoted below:—

¹مشوہ است دلم از کرشمہ سلمی چنانکہ خاطر مجنوں ز طرہ لیلی

Three more couplets of this ode are as follows:—

چو گل شکر دہی ام درد دل شود تسکین
 چو ترش ددی شوی و ارہانی از صفوی
 بہ غنچہ تو شکر خندہ نشہ بادہ
 بہ سنبل تو در گوش مہرہ انعی
 ببر دہ نرگس تو آب جادوی بابل
 کشادہ غنچہ تو باب معجز عیسی

We find many illustrations of forceful portraiture and style in his works. Very often his odes contain such metaphors, similes and constructions as are found in modern poets. Besides, his language is sometimes so refined that we cannot help feeling that it is the work of Qā'ānī, a poet of the 19th century. One specimen illustrating this point is given below:

والہ

²مرا بسود و فرو ریخت ہر چہ دندان بود
 نہ بود دندان لابل چراغ خندان بود

¹ Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 103.

² Ibid., p. 8.

نه نکس کپواں بود و نه روزگار دراز
 چه بود راست بگویم قضای یزدان بود
 هسی نه دانی ای ماه روی غایبه موی
 که حال بنده ازین پیش بر چه سامان بود
 شد آن زمانه که رویم بسان دیبا بود
 شد آن زمانه که مویم بسان قطران بود
 عیال نه زن و فرزند نه معونت نه
 ازین همه تنم آسوده بود و آسان بود
 تو رودکی را ای مہج کنوں هسی بیہی
 بدان زمانه ندیدی کہ زین خسیسایں بود
 بدان زمانه ندیدی کہ زی چمن رفتی
 سر و دگویاں گوئی هزار دستان بود
 کرا بزرگی و نعمت ازین و آن بودی
 کرا بزرگی و نعمت ز آل سامان بود
 کنوں زمانه دگر گشت و من دگر گشتم
 عصا ببار کہ رقتِ عصا و انبال بود

An ode, like a panegyric poem, originated from

The basic principle of his lyric poem; its introduction in Persia by him.

the poet's desire to honour some great person or place. Its essential features were the use of refined language and vivid description¹. Later, it grew

¹ Notice the poem of Abul 'Abbās, the founder of the *qasīdab*, already cited, pp. 104—107, *supra*.

more pedantic with a tinge of Sūfistic and philosophical thought. The language also became figurative and terse. A lyric, on the other hand, was a tender poem or sonnet composed in simple, sweet and chaste language in praise of one's object of love. It was a love-song in which a lover described to his beloved the pangs that he felt or his distraction and the pain of separation that afflicted him so that the beloved might be moved to pity him. But the beloved is depicted to be utterly callous and indifferent to all such wailings, and the reply put in his mouth by the poet is generally that of a proud and unsympathetic party. This sort of poetry was introduced and promoted in Persia by Rūdakī. Sa'dī, Khusrāu, Ḥasan, Ḥāfiz, Nazīrī and 'Urfī later built upon the same model. Some specimens from Rūdakī, showing his style and trend of thought, which constituted and later remained the essentials of a Persian lyric, are cited below:—

¹چو بشاید نگار من دو بادام و دو مرجان را
 بدین نازان کند دل را بدان رنجان کند جان را
 من و جانان بجان و دل تو و بستیم بازارے
 که جان و دل مرا داد است من جان داده جانان را
 نشاند اندر دلی من دوست زهر آلوده پیکانی
 که جز با جان ز دل نتوان کشیدن نوک پیکان را

¹ Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 5.

وصال و هجر او اصلی است دایم رنج و راحت را
 به جنگ و آشتی مایه است دایم درد و در مان را
 به کفر ایمان تبه گردد و لیکن رنج مردم را
 زمانه بود دین و دل به کفر آر است ایمان را
 چو نار گفته دارم به ز نار تفته آگنده
 از آن گاه هیکه دل دادم نگار نار پستان را
 از آن گاه هیکه پنهان کرد از من روی پیدا را
 سر شک روی زدم کرد پیدا را از پنهان را

وله

¹درد کی چنگ بر گرفت و نواخت باده انداز کو سر و دنواخت
 آن عقیق می که هر که بدید از عتیق گداخته شناخت
 هر دو یک گوهر اند لیک بطبع این بیفسرد و آن دگر بکداخت
 تا بسوده دو دست زنجیر کرد تا چشیده بتارک اندر ناخت

وله

²بیار آن می که پنداری در آن یاقوت ناب استی
 و یا چون بر کشیده تیغ پیش آفتاب استی
 بیاهی گوئی اندر جام مانند گلاب استی
 بشادی گوئی اندر دیده بیهواب خواب استی
 سحاب استی قدح گوئی و می قطره سحاب استی
 طرب گوئی که اندر دل دعای مستجاب استی

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 102.

اگر مے نیستی یکسر همه دلها خراب استی
 و مگر در کالبدِ جان را بدیدستی شراب استی
 اگر این مے باهر اندر به چنگَلِ عقاب استی
 از آن با نا کسان هرگز نه خوردندی صواب استی

Rūdakī has shown skill and efficiency in elegiac poetry as well. In one of his His elegiac poetry poems all the essential features of an elegy are found to their fullest extent, for example, he recounts in great detail the virtues of the deceased and his generous and charitable disposition in life towards all, so that the audience might be overcome with grief in the same way as the mourners, and join with them in their mourning for the dead, feeling the bereavement as their own. He has a marvellous elegy on the death of an Amir's son who died in the prime of his youth. In this, he depicts very beautifully the father's grief, and exhorts him to complete surrender and submission to the Divine Will. A few lines from it are quoted below:—

ای آنکه غمگینی و سزاواری	و اندر نهال اشک همی باری
رفت آنکه رفت آمد آنکه آمد	بود آنچه بود خیره چه غم داری
مستی مکن که نشنود او مستی	زاری مکن که نشنود او زاری
شو تا قیامت ایدر زاری کن	کی رفته به زاری باز آری

¹ Ibid., p. 104.

ابروی پدید نی و کسوفی نه بگرفت ماه و گشت جهان تاری
 اندر بلای سخت پدید آمدند فصل بزرگواری و سالاری
 همواره کرد خواهی گیتی را گیتی است کی پذیرد همواری

Another instance of his elegiac poetry is a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) which he had composed on the death of a contemporary poet, Abul Hasan Murādī Bukhārī:—

مُرد مرادی نه همانا که مُرد مرگ چنان خواجه نه کاریست خُرد
 جانِ گرمی به پدر باز داد کالبدِ تیسره بر مادر سپرد

One *rubā'ī* composed on the death of another colleague, Shahīd Balkhī, gives the date of that event. This is the first instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry:—a *rubā'ī*. First instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry, and is reproduced as under:—

۱ کاروان شهید رفت از پیش و آن مارفته گیر و می اندیش
 ۲ از شمار دو چشم یک تن کم در شمار خرد هزاران بیش

Some more *rubā'īs* are as follows:—

چوں کارِ دلم ز زلفِ او مانده گره دز هر رگِ جان صد آرزو مانده گره
 امید ز گرِ یه بود افسوس افسوس کل هم شبِ وصل در گلو مانده گره

¹ Ibid., p. 112.

² Ibid., p. 113.

وله
 1 مهتران جهان همی مردند مرگ را سر همی فرو کردند
 از هزاران هزار نعمت و جاه روز آخر یکے کفن کردند
 وله

2 ای از گل سرخ رنگ بر بوده و بو رنگ از پی در بوده بو از پی مو
 گلگون گر دد چه روی شوئی همه جو مشکین گر دد چه موفشانی همه کو
 وله

3 با آنکه دلم از غم هجرت خونست
 شادی بغم توالم ز غم افزونست
 اندیشه کنم هر شب و گویم یارب
 هجر انش چنین است و صالحش چونست

In *qit'a*-writing his art ranks second only to his
 Specimens of his ode or lyric.
qit'a.

Some specimens, which are very much akin to
rubā'ī, are given below:

4 زمانه پندی آزاده وار داد مرا زمانه را چو نکو بنگری همه پنداست
 بروز نیک کسان گفت غم مخور زنهار بسا کسا که بروز تو آرزو منداست
 وله
 5 بسرای سپنج مهمان را دل نهادن به ممسکی نه رواست

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² Ibid., p. 113.

³ Ibid., p. 108.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

زیر خاک اندر و نت باید خفت گرچه اکنون نت خواب بر دیباست
 با کسان بود نت چه سود کند که بگور اندرون شدن تنهاست
 وله

¹ روی به مکراب نهادن چه سود دل به بخارا و بتان طراز
 ایزد ما و سوسه عاشقی از تو پذیرد نه پذیرد نماز
 وله

² تا کی گوئی که اهل گیتی در هستی و نیستی لئیمند
 چون تو طمع از جهان بریدی دانی که همه جهان کریمند
 وله

³ نگارینا شنیدستم که گاه محنت و راحت
 سه پیراهن نشان بوده است یوسف را بعمر اندر
 یک از کید شد پر خوں دوم شد چاک از تهمت
 سیوم یعقوب را از بوی روشن کرد چشم تر
 رخم ماند بدان اول دام ماند بدان دریم
 نصیب من شود در وصل آن پیراهن دیگر

His position in *maṣnawī* may be estimated from his poem, the *Kalilah-Damnab*, for which the king had rewarded him with 40,000 *dirhams*. Daulat Shāh states that Rūdaḳī's *qasīdah* and *maṣnawī* were the best among all his poetry:—

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 107.

تصايد و مثنوی را نیکو می گوید - استاد رودکی عظیم الشان و مقبول
خاص و عام بوده -

He writes *qasīdah* and *maṣnawī* very well. Rūdakī, the master-poet, enjoyed high rank and was popular with all classes of people.

This is the first instance of *maṣnawī* to be met with in the history of Persian poetry.

The dates of his birth and death are not preserved.

Dates of his birth and death. Taqī Auhadī, in his *ʿArafāt*, mentions 253 A. H. as the date of birth, and 321 A. H. as the date of death. From this, it appears that Rūdakī lived to the age of 68 years. Shibli, in his *Shiʿr ul ʿAjam*, gives the date of death as 304 A. H., which cannot be correct; while Qazwīnī, in his *Bist Maqālah*, gives it as 329 A. H. None of them has mentioned the source of his information.

Rūdakī has been acknowledged by all the leading poets of Persia, both temporary and later during his time and after, as poets about him. the *father of Persian poetry*.

Some views of his contemporaries and of those who came immediately after him, during the 4th century A. H., may be cited here. Maʿrūfī of Balkh, a renowned poet of Rūdakī's time,

¹ Daulat Shāh, p. 19.

calls him *King of poets*:—

از رودکی شنیدم سلطانِ شاعران کاندز جهان بکس مگر و جز بفاطمی

Shahīd Balkhī, another contemporary, thinks:—

بسسخن ماند شعر شعرا رودکی را سخنش تلو یناست
شاعران راخه و احسنت مدیح رودکی راخه و احسنت هجاست

Daqīqī, Firdausī's senior collaborator in the preparation of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmāh*, says:—

کرا رودکی گفته باشد مدیح امام فنون و سخنور بود
دقیقی مدیح آورد نزد او چو خر ما بسوء هجر بر بود

'Unsurī, the poet-laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, eulogises Rūdakī's *ghazal*, declaring, at the same time, his own inferiority to him in this form of poetry:—

غزل رودکی وار نیکو بود غزلهای من رودکی وار نیست
اگرچه بکوشم بیاریک و هم درین پرده اندر مرا بار نیست

It is related that a colleague of Nizāmī 'Arūzī Samarqandī (6th century A. H.) once happened to pass an adverse remark in the latter's presence on Rūdakī's style of ode. Nizāmī at once became furious and gave the critic the following sharp reply in *rubā'ī*, pointing out his ignorance of prosody and calling Rūdakī صاحبقران شاعری ("the lord of the two ages in the art of versification"):—

ای آنکه طعن کردی در شعرِ رودکی
 این طعن کردنِ تو از چهل و کودکی است
 آنکس که شعر داند داند که در جهان
 صاحبقرانِ شاعری استادِ رودکی است

Abū Shakūr Balkhī, a contemporary of Rūdakī, was a poet of rank. His poems are seldom found in the biographical works, but from a perusal of his life and writings it is known that he was the first who planned and wrote a complete *maṣnawī*, the *Āfrīn Nāmāh*, in the Persian language. Daqīqī and Firdausī, who came after him, followed in his footsteps. 'Aufī gives 336 A. H., the year of the composition of this *maṣnawī*, but from the following couplet of Abū Shakūr himself it becomes clear that it was written in 333 A. H.:—

چنین داستاں کس نگفت از خیال
 ابر سه صد و سی و سه بود سال

Abul Muayyid's *maṣnawī*, the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikbā*, is another instance of an original composition in this period. Its style was followed by Khusrau and Jāmī, the most renowned poets in the Persian language.

Another *maṣnawī*, the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikbā*, of Abul Muayyid.

His full name is Abul ‘Abbās Faẓl bin ‘Abbās Abul ‘Abbās Zan- Zanjānī. He was a contemporary of Rūdakī and Abū Shakur, and was an undisputed master of technique. His poetry is majestic and sweet. The style of the *qaṣīdah* which he wrote on the occasion of the coronation of Nūh and the demise of Naṣr has been imitated by many a poet of repute. The following verses are worthy of notice:—

پادشاه نشست فروغ زاد	پادشاه گذشت خوب نواز
زین نشسته جهانیاں دلشاد	ز آن گذشته زمانیاں غمگین
هر چه بر ما ز ایزد آمد داد	بنگر اکنون بچشم عقل و بکوی
باز شمع بجای او بنهاد	گر چراغی ز پیش ما برداشت
مشتی نیز داد خویش بداد	ورزحل نص خویش پیدا کرد

The renowned poet Farrukhī, of the Ghaznavīd Court, later incorporated these verses in his elegy on the death of Sultān Maḥmūd. In this, he calls Abul ‘Abbās with the proud title of ‘master’:—

شمع داریم و شمع پیش نهیم گر بکشت آن چراغ مارا باد
 گر برفت آن ملک ز ما بگذاشت پادشاه کریم پاک نواز
 سبقت خوب آمد این دوییت مرا که شنیدیم ز شاعر استاد
 پادشاه نشست فروغ زاد پادشاه گذشت خوب نواز
 بر گذشته همه جهان غمگین بر نشسته همه جهان دلشاد

The general style of Daqīqī's poetry is different from that of Rūdakī. It is evident from 'Aufī's version that Rūdakī and Daqīqī were contemporaries, and both composed odes in praise of the Sāmānīd king, Naṣr bin Aḥmad. Daqīqī is the first Persian poet who laid the foundation of epic poetry in Persia. Firdausī, in his *Shāh Nāmāh* pays a high tribute of praise to Daqīqī's poetry, which is a clear proof of his mastery over style. The significant lines are as follows :—

ستایندۀ شهر یسارآن بدے
 بمدح انسر نامداران بدے
 چو از دفتر این داستانها بے
 همی خواند خوانندۀ بر هر کسے
 جهان دل نهاده بسوی داستان
 همه بخوردان و همه داستان
 جوانے بیامد کشاده زبان
 سخن گوی و خوش طبع و روشن روان
 به نظم آرم این نامه را گفت من
 از و بشادمان شد دل انجمن

He took up the composition of the *Shāh Nāmāh* at the request of his patron, Abul Fazl Bal'amī. When he had finished 1,000 verses, he met with his tragic death at the hands of one of his slaves with

whom he was in love. Firdausi refers to this event thus :—

ز گشتاسپ و ارجاسپ بیتِ هزار بگفت و سر آمد و را روزگار

Daqīqī stands on a high pedestal in Persian versification, and was an adept in every branch of poetry. As he was destined to set his hand to the "*Book of the Kings of Persia*," the greatest epic of the age, his thoughts had taken the same turn. He was the first rider to traverse this field. Firdausī, on Daqīqī's death, incorporated the latter's verses in the *Shāh Nāmāh*, of which the following may be cited as a fair example :—

لشکر کشیدن گشتاسپ بر ارجاسپ و شکست خوردن ارجاسپ

بفرمود بردن ز پیش سپاه

درفش هایونش فرخنده شاه

سوءِ رزم ارجاسپ لشکر کشید

سپاهی که آنرا کرانه ندید

ز بس بانگِ اسپان و جوش و خروش

همی ناله کوس نشنید گوش

درفشان بسیار انراشته

سر نیزه ها زیر بگذاشته

چو رسته درخت از بر کوهسار

چو بیشه نیستان بوقتِ بهار

ز تاریکیِ گر در بانگِ سپاه

کسی روز روشن نمی دیده راه

بکردند یک تیرِ بارانِ نخست
 بسانِ تگرگِ بهارانِ درست

بپوشیده شد چشمهٔ آفتاب ز پیکانهای درخشان چو آب
 تو گفتی هوا ابر دارد همی وزان ابرِ الماس بارد همی
 هوا زین جهان بود شبگون شده زمین سر بسر پاک در خوں شده
 یک بارهٔ بر نشسته چو پیل به تن همچو آهن به نگ همچو نیل
 چو بینائی دیده بے رنج راه رسید بهر جا که کر دے نگاه
 در و دشتهٔ شد همه لاله گون بدشت و بیابان همی ریخت خوں
 چنان شد ز بس کشته آن رزمگه که بروے ندانست رفتن سپاه
 ز توران بکشتند چندان سپاه کجا رحمت آورد گستاخ شاه
 چو آگاه شد قیصر آن شاهِ روم که فرخ شد آن شاه و ارجاسپ شوم
 فرسته فرستاد با خواسته غلامان و اسبان آراسته

Firdausi takes precedence over his contemporary Comparison of in beauty of style and grandeur Firdausi with Daqiqi. of conception, and his verses are generally more appropriate to his theme and create a greater impression. But in judging Daqiqi the fact should not be lost sight of that his verses had to pass through several hands, and underwent changes through the tender mercies of the scribes before they reached Firdausi. Some critics observe that the original verses had altogether been mutilated. Firdausi himself says:—

به نقل اندرون سست گشتش سخن از نو شده روزگار کهن

In short, Daqīqī deserves the credit for originality, because he was the forerunner who paved the way for others to tread. The outlines of an epic poem laid down by him, such as the mode of describing events, laws of warfare, rules of etiquette to be observed by the warriors, the language employed by all ranks and the author's fidelity of expression were all followed in their entirety by Firdausī. Daqīqī was the first who thought of purging Persian epic of Arabic words. This spirit was subsequently imbibed by Firdausī and retained to the last. Daqīqī was lavish in the use of redundant letters, examples of which abound in Firdausī also.

It is evident from the verses cited above that the general tenor and vivacity of tone found in the poetry of Daqīqī resemble closely the qualities found in Firdausī. The distinguishing feature of Firdausī's *maṣnawī* is that both the hemistiches in the line balance equally and the force of narration is not broken; while in Daqīqī's verses the second hemistich is often less forceful than the first, and the force and continuity of description dwindle gradually. But this must be admitted that Daqīqī did not get as much time and opportunity to acquire force in his composition as did Firdausī. Some critics observe that Daqīqī, had he lived to finish the work, might have attained in the course of time the same degree of vigour and lucidity as did Firdausī.

Examples of *qasīdah* are also to be found in Daqīqi's poetry. They show that he had a masterly hand and possessed insight into this branch of poetry as well. The following verse of Firdausī, which refers to Daqīqi's *qasā'id* written in praise of the kings and nobles, reflects upon the eminence of Daqīqi as a *qasīdah*-writer:—

ستایندۀ شهر یاران بدے بمدح انسر نامداران بدے

Some extracts from his *qasā'id* are cited below by way of specimen:—

ای ابر بهمنی نه بجشم من اندری
 دم زن زمانکی و بر آسای کم گری
 این روز و شب گریستن زار بهر چیست
 نی چون منی غریب و غم عشق بر سری
 در داجدا بماندم و در غم ز عشق یار
 من زین توانکرم که مهان این توانگری
 یاری گزیدم از همه خلق آن پری نژاد
 زان شد ز پیش چشم من امروز چون پری
 لشکر برفت و آن بت لشکر شکن برفت
 هرگز مهان کس که دهد دل به لشکری
 وله

در مدح امیر ابو سعید محمد مظفر چغانی گوید

ای کرده چرخ تیغ ترا پاسبان ملک دی کرده جود کف ترا پاسبان خویش

تقدیرِ گوئیِ امرِ تو دارد ز آسمان دینارِ قصدِ کفِ تو دارد ز کانِ خویش

وله

در مدحِ سلطان

ز دو چیز کردند مر مملکت را یکے بر بتانی یکے زعفرانی
 یکے در بنام ملک بر نوشته دگر ز آهن آب داده یمانی
 کرا بویہ وصالِ ملک خیزد یکے جنبشِ بایدها آسانی
 زبالے سخنِ گوی و طبعے کشاده دلے همش کینه همش مهربانی
 که مملکت شکارِ دست کو را نگیرد عتابِ پرنده نه شهرِ زیانی
 دو چیز است کو را به بند اندر آرد یکے تیغِ هندی دگر زرِ کانی
 بششیر باید گرفتن مر او را بدینار بستنش پی آرتوانی
 کرا بخت و ششیر و دینار باشد بهالا تن نیزه پشتِ کیانی
 خرد باید آنجا و چود و شجاعت فلک مملکت کی دهد رایگانی

He also composed *ghazals* which come next to His *ghazal* and those of Rūdakī in sweetness and *rubā'ī*. music. Two samples are quoted below:—

غزل

کاشکے اندرِ جہاں شب نیستی	تا مرا ہجرانِ آں لب نیستی
وخمِ عقربِ نیستی بر جانِ من	گو ورا زلفِ معقربِ نیستی
در نبودے کو کبش در زیرِ لب	مونسم تا روز کو کب نیستی
در مرکبِ نیستی از نیکوئی	جانم از عشقش مرکبِ نیستی
در مرا بے یار باید زیستن	زندگانی کاش یا رب نیستی

وله

زمین را خلعتِ اُردی بهشتی	در افکند ای صنم ابر بهشتی
هوا برسان مشک اندوده نشتی	زمین برسان خوس آلوده دیبا
مثال دوست بر صحرا نوشتی	بدان ماند که گوئی از می و مشک
می بر گونه جامه کنشتی	تب رخسار او هرنگِ یاقوت
بجائے نرمی و جائے درشتی	چہاں طاؤس گو نہ گشت گوئی
کہ پنداری گل اندر گل سرشتی	ز گل بوئے گلاب آید بد انسان
بہ گیتی از ہمہ خوبی و زشتی	دقیقی چار خلعت بر گزید است
می خوس رنگ و کیش زردہشتی	لبِ یاقوت رنگ و نالہ چنگ

At this period, Persian poetry in all its spheres had advanced its steps beyond the preliminary bounds of its activity, and was quickly traversing the various stages to reach the high road to perfection. Poets who now indulged in this art spent their energies principally on writing *qas'id*, prefacing them with love verses. This portion was the *ghazal* of that period.

Daqiqi is the author of a complete *diwān*, as is evident from his biography. His quatrains (*rubā'īs*) were incorporated in his *diwān* just in the same way as were his *qas'id* and *ghazal*. But it is to be regretted that his quatrains are no longer extant. Only one, which is preserved in the early records, is cited below to serve as an instance:

رباعی

گویند صبر کن که ترا صبر بر دهد آرد و دهد و لیک به عمرے دگر دهد
من عمر خویش را به عبودی گذاشتم عمرے دگر بباید تا صبر بر دهد

He also wrote *qit'āt* of which some are reproduced as follows:—

قطعه

چرخ گردان نهاده دارد گوش تا ملک مرو را چه فرماید
زحل از هیبتش نمی داند که فلک را چگونه پیماید

وله

من اینجا دیر ماندم خوار گشتم عزیز از ماندن دایم شود خوار
چو آب اندر شمر بسیار ماند عفونت گیرد از آرام بسیار

وله

نکه کن آب و یخ در آبکینه فرزاد هر سه همچون روز روشن
گدا زیده دو تا یک نافروده بیک لون این سه گوهر بین ملون

وله

بزیر دیبۀ سبز اندر آنک ترنج سبز و زردار بار بنگر
یکه چون حقه زر از حقیقت یکه چون بیضه بینی ز عنبر

We arrive at the following conclusion from the surviving poems of Daqiqi and his contemporaries with regard to the general trend of Persian composition in this age:—

Characteristic features of Persian composition of this period.

(i) There are few conceits or verbal impedi-

ments in their composition.

- (ii) The thoughts expressed are free from the taint of artificiality, pervaded as they are with natural and true emotions. The versification of subjects and themes is simple and lucid, and no attempt at intricacies of diction is noticeable.
- (iii) Uncommon words and constructions are not frequently used, so that there is no abstruseness or ambiguity in meaning to mar the understanding of the real idea.
- (iv) The technical means of poetry do not go beyond a certain limit; and because of this, the description of events produces a wholesome effect on the reader. Also, the true picture of a real event does not become overlaid or hidden, as in later poets, under the intricacies of word and meaning.
- (v) The composition was to a great extent free from far-fetched similes and metaphors and other ornamental forms of speech. Whenever a figurative diction is used, it is always within the bounds of reason and governed by the laws of rhetoric. Hence it is not repugnant to good taste.
- (vi) The subtle idioms and technicalities of philosophy, astronomy and other sciences, which are so frequently found in the works of *Badr Chāch*, *Anwarī*, *Khāqānī* and *‘Urfī*

are rarely used by the poets of this period.

(vii) The metres of the poems are mostly of native and ancient origin. The Arabic metres used are confined to *qasīdah* only. Those of *rubā'ī* and *qit'ā* are Persian. *Ghazals* are written in Persianised metres to suit the Persian taste and requirements.

(viii) The use of pure Arabic forms of speech is rare; while the admixture of Arabic words is more frequent.

(ix) The poets who wrote in Persian are not, in their style of poetry, which was founded on patriotic lines in Persia, the pupils of Arabia; rather the 'Arab poets themselves exhibit tendencies of succumbing to Persian forms of speech, and forgetting their own national pride freely indulge in singing praises of the Amīrs and nobles, as was done by the Persian poets who lived during the first and second centuries of the Hijrah. Some notable examples of this new feature are to be found in the poetry of Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and Abū Dulāmah.

(x) Regular instruction in moral philosophy and ethics is given through verse.

(xi) Of the various forms of poetry, *qasīdah*, *qit'ā* and *ghazal* are more commonly adopted.

- (xii) The use of redundant letters, with a view to conforming to the metre, becomes a common practice. For example, Hinzalah, Firūz Mashriqī, Rūdakī and Daqīqī are in the habit of affixing and suffixing l to their words as in اَبَر , جانا , مهانا , نگارينا , and sometimes , as in چوناں , which is written as چنل .

In short, a most important change that came over Persian poetry, towards the close of the 4th century A. H., was that it did not remain confined to the singing of panegyrics, but was progressing steadily as a distinct art in the field of literature. Also, a good deal of useful matter concerning historical affairs was being poured into it. The poets and men of letters, in addition to translating books from foreign languages, were now devoting their attention to writing useful treatises in Persian prose. Thus the translation of the Sanskrit story of the *Kalilah-Damnab* from the Arabic version of Ibn ul Muqaffa' into Persian verse, and of the Arabic history of Ṭabarī into Persian prose, the compilation of a Persian lexicon by Asadī Tūsī, the writing of the *Kitāb ul Abniyah*, a treatise on Greek medicine by Abū Man-sūr Hiravī, and the composition of the *Nausbīrwān Nāmab* by Badāyī'ī Balkhī are some of the most notable monuments of this age in literature, history, medicine and ethics.

Another useful purpose served by Persian poetry in this period was that when all other agencies failed to give effect to certain important administrative measures, the help of poetry was successfully sought at delicate moments of crises. For example, a reference may be made to the instantaneous change wrought by Rūdakī's ode in the attitude of king Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty, who was leisurely enjoying himself in the gardens of Herāt, but was stirred to depart at once for Bukhārā. The poem, though a very plain one, had made Naṣr fall into an ecstasy and longing for home and get rid of his obstinate obsession.

It has already been pointed out that people in this age liked a simple style, and a natural and spontaneous flow of thought was greatly appreciated. The constant use of figurative language with scientific technicalities, remote similes and artificial rhythmic expressions was generally not found in the works of poets. Hence the verses of Rūdakī possessed a charm and sweetness which naturally affected the heart of the king.

Another important feature which marks the poetry of this epoch is that the Persians, once more, set their hearts on guarding their national language against the inroad of foreign elements, specially Arabic. The versification of the history of Persian kings, the *Shāh Nāmah*, Persia's greatest book, was due only to this national awakening, and Daqīqī

was to take the lead. This is the first example in Muslim Persia, after the Sāsānian regime, that such a marked historical service was rendered by poetry. There is yet one other literary phase. It is that the poets, besides writing an epic, or a love story, or depicting some natural scene of a mountain or river-side or a garden in the Spring, paid special attention to versifying the common events of daily life and teaching moral lessons to humanity. Some instances are quoted below.

Shahīd Balkhī persuades people to make haste in doing benevolent deeds thus:—

عیب باشد بتار نیک درنگ گر شتاب آمدے رفیق ملام
عاقبت را هم از نخستین ہیں تا به غفلت گلو نگیرد دام

Hakīm Qatrān of Tabrīz points out in the following verse how to benefit oneself with one's own property, and at the same time to benefit others:—

نیکبخت آنکسے کہ داد و بخورد شور بخت آنکے اور نغورد و نداد

This very idea was echoed by the great Sa'dī of Shirāz *three* hundred years later in the following words which are closely similar to those of his predecessor:—

نیکبخت آنکے خورد و کشت و بد بخت آنکے مرد و هشت

Another moral lesson is taught to the world at large by Rūdakī thus:—

ناکى گوئى که اهل دنیا در هستى و نیستى لیتند
چون تو طمع از جهان بریدی دانى که همه جهان گیرند

The great teaching of the Qur'ān that Man should remain happy and contented with whatever boon God bestows upon or takes away from him¹ is recounted by Qatrān thus:—

ز آمده شادمان نباید بود و ز گذشته نکرد باید یاد

Another lesson of the Qur'ān to regard one's life in this world and its riches as insignificant² is expounded and conveyed as follows:—

زندگانی چه کوته و چه دراز نه به آخر بُرد باید باز
خواهی اندر عنا و محنت زى خواهی اندر نشاط و نعست و ناز
خواهی اندک تر از جهان بهذیر خواهی از دے بغير تا به حجاز

مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ نَبْرَأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ لِكَيْلَا تَأْسَوْا عَلَى مَا فَاتَكُمْ وَلَا تَفْرَحُوا بِمَا آتَاكُمْ الْحَمْدُ

(Chapter 27. Rk. 19)

إِعلمُوا أَنَّ الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا لَعَبٌ وَلَهْوٌ وَزِينَةٌ وَتَفَاخُرٌ
بِمَنِّكُمْ وَتَكَاثُرٌ فِي الْأَمْوَالِ وَالْأَوْلَادِ الْحَمْدُ

(Ibid.)

این همه بود و باد تو خوابست خواب را حکم تے مگر به مجاز
 این همه دوزِ مرگ اگر بینی نشانی ز یکدگر شان باز

Again, in the following verse he, in an appealing manner, condemns outward piety which, later, became the chief topic of Hāfiz's poetry. In fact, the whole of Hāfiz's *diwān* may be said to be an interpretation of this single verse:—

دوی به مکراب نهادن چه سود دل به بخارا و بتان طراز

Abū Shakūr Balkhī comments on the universal bit of wisdom that “a bad seed germinates a bad fruit” thus:—

درختے که تلخش بود گوهرآ اگر چرب و شیرین دهی مردرا
 همان میوه تلخ آرد پدید ازو چرب و شیرین نخواهی چشید

• This subject was taken up later by almost all the leading poets of Persia, and presented in verse in various ways. For example, Firdausi's rendering, which is nothing but a copy of Abū Shakūr in letter and meaning, is as follows:—

درختے که تلخ است ویر آسروش گرش بر نشانی بهانج بهشت
 سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد همان میوه تلخ بار آورد

Such teachings of moral philosophy and universal truth are commonly met with in the works of poets of this age. Shahīd Balkhī propounds the philosophy

of non-association of wealth with learning by comparing the latter with narcissus and the former with rose thus:—

دانش و خواسته است نرگس و گل که بیک جای نشکفتند بهم
هر کرا دانش است خواسته نیست هر کرا خواسته است دانش کم

Abū Shakūr puts in verse the utterance of Socrates: “after so much learning and research I came to know that I know nothing” :—

تا بدانش رسیده دانش من که بدانم همی که نا دانم

Thus the subtleties of poetry were just beginning to grow side by side with the exposition of these philosophical thoughts. The scope of poetry was also widening, and poets were out to explore untrodden fields. Creative imagination was stirred to its keenest activity as the poets searched for all possible means of raising their art to a higher level.

Whatever has so far been said is but the gateway to the main structure of Persian poetry which was in the process of building outside Hindūstān. But the real theme, the advent and growth of Persian proper, specially poetry, in India, as compared with Persia, commences from the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

CHAPTER III

THE GHAZNAVIDS

Section 1:—The period of Mahmūd—the greatest patron of Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world

Mahmūd was the greatest patron of learning and of Persian Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world. He had founded a Royal Academy and a Museum at Ghaznī, the seat of the capital of his Persian Empire. Prominent men of letters, poets and philosophers were constantly in attendance on him. The two most eminent scholars invited by him to come to his court were Avicenna and Abū Raihān al Bīrūnī. For some reasons the former could not attend, but the latter responded and produced under Mahmūd's liberal patronage such scientific and literary works as are still to be seen with an eye of wonder.

His works are all either in Sanskrit or Arabic, the consideration of which is beyond the scope of this book.¹ But since he ranks high in his knowledge

¹ It may be noted that he had selected Arabic and Sanskrit

and grasp of Persian language and literature, and also finds an honoured place in Indian history, having left many valuable works concerning the people of Hindūstān; and also because some 'Arab historians have declared Sindh to be his birth-place, it seems expedient to enter into some discussion here of his person and activities which would determine his identity and connection with India.

His full name was Abū Raihān Muḥammad bin Ahmad al-Bīrūnī. There are various conflicting statements in the early records about his birth-place of which a short summary together with necessary comment is given below.

The 'Arab historian, 'Abdul Karīm bin Muḥammad 'as Sam'ānī mentions the suburbs of Khwārazm as al-Bīrūnī's home, and observes that as the latter resided outside the boundaries of Khwārazm proper,

as the media of his writings on astronomy, Hindū sciences and other mathematical and geometrical subjects. He also translated many scientific works from Arabic and Greek languages into Sanskrit e.g. Greek almanac, Euclid, Principles of astrolabe etc. His reason for adopting Arabic medium in preference to his mother tongue, Persian, in the translation of foreign books, was that Arabic, in his opinion, was more flexible and extensive than Persian for the translation of the technical terms of Arts and Sciences. In fact, Arabic was the recognised literary medium of the Muslims all over the world in those days; whereas Persian did not have this status.

the residents called him *Bīrūnī*, an outsider.¹ This anecdote was subsequently quoted by Yāqūt Ḥamvī who, having heard it from a learned associate, tells us with the comment that al-Bīrūnī's stay in Khwārazm proper was very brief, as brief as that of a traveller, and the inhabitants of Khwārazm called a traveller by that name.²

The word *Bīrūn*, as it is transcribed in the works of Ibn Ḥauqal, the famous 'Arab geographer, and 'Alī bin Ḥāmid Abū Bakr Kūfī, author of the *Chach Nāmah*, is not clearly decipherable, because of the first letter being undotted. Hence it may be read either as *Bīrūn* or *Nīrūn*. The English historian, Sir Charles Elliot, however, has read it as *Nīrūn*³, a view which has since found support in some quarters. The reasons for this view are, *prima facie*, based on the fol-

¹ Cf. the statement: هذه النسبة الى خارج خوارزم فان بها من يكون من خارج البلد ولا يكون من نفسها يقال له "فلان بيرونى" يقال "فلان بيرونى ست" و يقال "ان بيرونى ست" و المشهور بهذه النسبة ابى دىحان المنجم بيرونى -

(Kitāb ul Ansāb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 98 b)

² Cf. Yāqūt: سَأَلْتُ بعض الفضلاء عن ذاك فزعم أن مقامه بخوارزم: كان قليلا و أهل خوارزم يسمون الغريب بهذا اسم كأنه لما طالت غربته عنهم كان غريبا و ما أظنه يراد به إلا أنه من أهل الأستاق يعنى أنه من برابلد - (Irshād ul Arīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 308)

³ History of India, vol. I, pp. 396-401.

lowing data :

- (i) There is no city of the denomination of *Bīrūn* in modern Sindh; while there is a trace of an uninhabited place named *Nīrūn*.
- (ii) Abū Raihān, according to Sam'ānī, was the inhabitant of Khwārazm, and was known as *Bīrūnī* in the terminology of its people.

To deny the existence of *Bīrūn* on the ground that there is no trace of any such town in modern Sindh is perhaps going too far, unless it be established that there was never a place of that name at any time in the history of that Province. A good many ancient towns of Sindh, like *Alūrā*, *Tāfn*, *Hamūs* and *Qalūrī*, whose existence is vouchsafed by early 'Arab travellers, have long ceased to exist. *Bīrūn* also is one such instance. Several 'Arab writers have mentioned that there existed a city of the name of *Bīrūn* in Sindh. Also, there is al-Bīrūnī's own evidence, which is irrefutable and is a conclusive proof against the modern conception. The 'Arab historian, Balāzuri, who lived in the third century A. H., almost three centuries earlier than Sam'ānī, has written in detail about the city of *Bīrūn*, and has authoritatively stated that when Muḥammad bin Qāsim led his attack on India in the beginning of 93 A. H., he invaded Sindh,

and entered the city of *Bīrūn*¹, after conquering the fort of Dībul at the mouth of the Indus. The inhabitants, having sent two Buddhist plenipotentiaries to *Hajjāj*, concluded a treaty with the Caliph, and took *Muhammad bin Qāsim* inside the city, and paid him the amount of the annual subsidy according to the terms of the treaty. Again, *Ibn Uṣayba'* in his *Tārīkh ul-Atibbā*, *Shahrzūrī* in his *Nuḥbat ul Arwāḥ* and the famous 'Arab geographer *Abul Fidā* have mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and have stated that some people attributed it to al-Bīrūnī. Also, the author of the *Taqwīm ul Buldān*, al-mu'ayyid *Ismā'il bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī*, has cited *Bīrūn* as an old city of Sindh with its location between Dībul and *Manṣūrah*. In support of his statement he has quoted al-Mahallabī, al-Idrisī and *Ibn Sa'id*, stating that *Bīrūn* was not a big city and was inhabited by the Muslims, and had a strong fort at the entrance, and was commonly attributed to al-Bīrūnī.² The

¹ Cf. the statement:—

قالوا واتی محمد بن القاسم البیرون و کان أهلها بعثوا ثمنین منهم
الی الکجراج فمالکوه فاقاموا المکمد العلوقه و ادخلوه مدينتهم و فوا بالصلح —

(Chap. I, *Futūḥ us Sind*, p. 437)

² Cf. the statement:

و البیرون اسم مدينة من الدیل و من المنصورة علی نکو نصف الطريق
و د بها قیل هی الی المنصورة اقرب و قال المهلبی البیرون مدينة أهلها مسلمون
و منها الی المنصورة خمسة عشرة فرسخا و قال ابن سعید مدينة البیرون التي

French scholar, Reinaud, whose investigations into the life and works of Abū Raihān are of special interest, because he was the first to introduce the name of this scientist in Europe by publishing a few chapters of his famous work, *Kitāb ul-Hind*, entertained no doubt as to the existence of Bīrūn, a view which, subsequently, was not credited by Elliot. The latter has, perhaps, missed the evidence of al-Bīrūnī himself, which is a great factor in determining the truth. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, has expressly mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and has given its longitude and latitude as follows¹:—

long.	..	..	94-30'
lat.	..	..	24-45'

which, according to the modern calculation comes to

long.	..	..	69-0'
lat.	..	..	25-0'

respectively.

The historian Ismā'il bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī has referred to this calculation of al-Bīrūnī, and has taken

ينسب اليها أبو ريحان البيروني و هي من فرض بلاد الهند التي عليها خليجهم
المالح الخارج من بحر فارس و قال الادريسي من البيرون الى المنصورة ثلاث
مراحل و بعض مرحلة و هي مدينة ليست بالكبيرة و عليها حصن حصين -
(*Taqwīm ul Buldān*, p. 147, Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh).

¹ *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, chap. V, Mss., foll. 217-219, Imperial Library, Rāmpūr State.

special care to transcribe the name of this city by expressing each letter in words, a custom followed by the 'Arab lexicographers and other cautious writers, which admits of no mistake or doubt whatever in the spelling of any name.¹

In the face of these positive proofs, the existence of *Bīrūn* as a city in Sindh cannot be denied. Nevertheless, its claim to be the home of al-Bīrūnī is disproved by his own statement. He says that he came to India as a stranger, and in the beginning of his stay here became a pupil of the *Pandits* for the study of Sanskrit. What is most striking in his account is that he acquired in a short time complete mastery of Sanskrit, and even excelled his teachers, so that the most eminent *Pandits*, with whom he held discussions, wondered how a stranger and a new-comer could attain such a height of perfection in their sciences, specially astronomy and Hindū lore. Abū Raihān further says that their *savants* had begun to suspect him as a sorcerer, and believed that it was through his sorcery that the secrets of their religion, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy were revealed

¹ Cf.—

يرون - بكسر الهمزة الموحدة و سکون اليا آخر الحروف و ضم الراء المهملة
و بعدها واد و نى آخر هانون -

(Taqwīm, p. 146).

Note:—This statement is made by the author on the authority of Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī.

to him.¹ The second proof of his not being a native of Sindh is that in the Preface to his book, *‘Ilm ul Adviiyah*, he writes that he passed his childhood in Khwārazm, where he used to learn the Greek language from a learned Greek scholar and used to enquire from him the Greek names of herbs and plants.²

In short, the contention that Abū Raihān was born at *Bīrūn* in Sindh cannot be upheld. But it is a fact that he was closely connected with India and its culture. Although he was proficient in Mathematics and Astronomy, yet the ‘Arab historian, Yāqūt, has classed him with the literary men of the time. It appears that he was a poet as well, and his relations with Maḥmūd were cordial. Yāqūt has quoted an Arabic *qasīdah* of Abū Raihān in praise of Maḥmūd, in which he admitted, with characteristic frankness, the bounties of the Sultān and his unequalled patronage of letters.

It is clear from the life of Abū Raihān that he completed his studies of Arabic in Khwārazm, where he had ample opportunities for it. He was gifted with a retentive memory, quick wit and intelligence from his very childhood, and soon got admittance into the court of Sultān Abul ‘Abbās Māmūn Khwārazmshāh who appointed him his مشیر (counsellor³).

¹ Al-Bīrūnī's India, Sachau, chap. I.

² F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", The Islāmic Culture, Hyderābād, 1933.

³ Baihaqī, Tārikh i Mas‘ūdī, Mss., fol. 121 a, Āsī Press

This position he held for seven years. Subsequently, he became attached to the court of Sultān Mahmūd, where he was sent on an embassy by Khwārazmshāh.¹ Mahmūd patronized Abū Raihān and made him his chief courtier. This gave him a good chance to do full justice to his natural inclinations for acquiring knowledge of Indian arts and sciences. He, therefore, applied himself to this task with zeal and promptitude until Mahmūd's death. In the journeys which Abū Raihān undertook in quest of knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū learning, he had to bear untold sufferings and hardships. The *Pandits* treated him with disdain and looked down upon him as an "untouchable", but he tolerated all this, and by his perseverance and devotion learnt their sacred sciences, and translated Sanskrit books into Arabic, and Arabic and Greek books into Sanskrit.

Now the question arises as to what his mother tongue was. His own reply to this appears in the

library, Lucknow.

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و البیرونی حکیم را کہ از خرد سالکی فضیلتی آن دیار آورد دانستندے
و بر علم و دانش او تکسین گفتندے برسم حضوری بدرگاہ ابوالعباس مامون
خوارزمشاه آوردند و ستوندند - امیر حاجب کہ روزگارش مساعد بود اشارت
به نشستن کرد و بفرومان شاهی مهم سفارت سلطان محمود را با و تفویض
نمود و فوق تر از و ندیدند -

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 79)

Preface of his book *‘Ilm ul Adviyyah* in the form of a puzzle. He says that his mother tongue is a language which was never made a medium of script in literary works. He further mentions that neither Arabic nor Persian is his mother tongue.¹ Persian was the literary and spoken language of the high class people of Khwārazm proper, but the common colloquial language of the district was a local dialect, *Khwārazmī*.² Also, in the outskirts of Khwārazm, mixed rural dialects were current which were unfit to be used in literary works.

Abū Raihān, as in Arabic, holds a prominent place in Persian literature as well, because he was a

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و ان گانت كل امة تتكلى لغتها التى افتها... ثم منتقلة الى العربية و
الفارسية فى كل واحدة دخيل و لها متكلف —

(F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", Islamic Culture, 1933).

² Cf.—

امير ابوالعباس مامون يعقوب كندى را برفع مظنة ناسد كه از قضيه نا
مرضيه خانان تركستان سر كشيده بود نزد وزير سلطان محمود فرستاد —
او متمدنه در غزنین مانده لا فهمی زد و از اعيان و سران كسے نزدیک
او نيامد و معتبر نداشت — بالآخر دلتنگ شده سطرے چند در شكايه
اهل غزنه بخط و لغت خوارزمی كه بر سر آن كسے مطلع نشود نگاشته
خریطه بدست حاجب خرد مير زا حميد بخارى بخوارزم بطرف امير
فرستاد —

(Tazkira i Salātin i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 87).

citizen of Khwārazm, and hence a Persian by blood. He was also closely associated with the elite of Persia, and learnt Arabic in Khwārazm under eminent local teachers of Arabic language and literature through the Persian medium.

The officers and soldiers of Mahmūd's army were the first to bring and introduce the Persian language into India in a stable form, but the admixture of Persian and Hindī began from the time of Abū Raihān. As a matter of fact, he could not avoid using the words of the current Prākṛits and of the language of the *Pandits* and the high class Brahmans, with whom he came in contact in his daily intercourse. They too, in their turn, used the words of Abū Raihān's language in their address to him. The result was that the words of Sanskrit and Persian vocabularies became thus, consciously or unconsciously, intermingled with each other.

The *al-Hind*, the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* and the *Qānūn* 'ul

His most famous *ul Mas'ūdī* are among his best works: the *al-Hind*; known works. The first is the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*; and the *Qānūn* 'ul directly concerned with India. *Mas'ūdī*.

In this, the sciences of the Hindūs, their religion, philosophy, astronomy and beliefs have been described in detail. It is, thus, a complete history of the culture of the Hindūs. It has also been translated into German and English, with a Preface by a German orientalist, Edward Sachau.

The *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* is a comprehensive history of the nations of the world in ancient times. It contains a history of the calendar; the causation of Day and Night; the renewal of the world after the great Deluge; an account of the deluge; the mission of the Reformers and the Claimants to the Prophethood and their disciples; an account of Zul-Qarnain and Zoroaster; the laws of the Jews, the Magis, the Egyptians, the 'Arabs and the Persians and their festivals, together with the author's comment on their religious observances and rituals. Like the *al-Hind*, this book also was translated into German and English, and published with a Preface by Sachau.

The *Qanūn ul Mas'ūdi*¹ is a most valuable work on astronomy. It is a mirror of the achievement of the Muslim world in science and shows their sturdy

¹ Some attempts were made at 'Aligarh in 1915-16 by the late Nawāb Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, Honorary Secretary, Muḥammadan-Anglo-Oriental College, to form an Academy to edit and publish this work under the liberal patronage of the Nizām's government, but it fell through for want of suitable men to handle the task. To understand and edit the chapters of this great work, it is necessary to find scholars who may have completed their study of advanced Mathematics and astronomy originally in Arabic. An Academy was founded in Italy under the patronage of Leone Caetani, a great lover of Islāmic studies, which, besides other literary activities in its programme, also undertook the responsibility for editing and publishing this work. It is to be hoped that through the enthusiasm of European orientalists this gigantic task will soon be completed.

refined taste for scientific subjects. In this book Abū Raihān has recorded many a theoretical observation and his experiment relating to the position of the stars and their distance from the Earth, together with the phenomena which he noticed in the Solar regions by means of his apparatuses from the *Observatory* at Ghaznī in 410 A. H. and subsequent dates.

Abū Raihān has given a list of his works, which are more than a hundred
 His other works. in number, in a small pamphlet which he wrote for one of his friends. This pamphlet is preserved in the library of Leyden, to which a reference has been made by Sachau in his Preface to the *Aṣār ul Bāqiyah*. The list is by no means complete since there are other sundry works mentioned by historians.

After Maḥmūd's death, Abū Raihān remained in the service of Sultān Mas'ūd, and received royal patronage and favours from him. This, indeed, was a great encouragement to Abū Raihān for carrying on undisturbed his scientific researches to which he had already devoted himself. His open and full acknowledgment of Mas'ūd's liberal support is made in his Preface to the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdi*, his best work, for which reason it was dedicated to the Sultān and called after his name "*Mas'ūdi*."

Abū Raihān states that Sultān Mas'ūd possessed His estimate of a wider and more advanced Mas'ūd's literary taste. literary taste than his father.¹ Mas'ūd had received the best scientific training, and had acquired competent knowledge of Arabic and ornate Persian prose. He was one of the most eloquent speakers of his time. Historians relate that when he talked to his courtiers in Persian, the most accomplished scholars in attendance were astonished to hear his eloquence.² His Persian speech was particularly sweet and his composition weighty and of a high order. None but he among the Ghaznavīd kings, says Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Husain Sarakhshī, used to speak and write pure idiomatic Persian with fluency and ease.³

¹ Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī, Preface.

Also, cf. Yāqūt:—

وكان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً كريماً ذافئاً لثائرة كثيرة مكباً للعلماء كثير الاحسان اليهم
والتقرب لهم... صنفاً له التصانيف الكثيرة في فنون العلوم وكان كثير الصدقة
والاحسان الى اهل الحاجة —

² Cf. Baihaqī:—

چون این پادشاه در سخن آمدے جهانیان بایستے کہ در نظاره بودندے
کہ در پاشیدے و شکر شکستے —

(Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, p. 19).

³ Cf.—

گویند از سلاطین عظام این سلسلہ عالیہ مثل سلطان شہید (مسعود)
انا لله برہانہ کیے در پارسی سخن نظیف تر نہ راندے —
(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss. p. 39)

Persian being the court language of the Ghaznavids, Abū Raihān must have carried on his conversations with the people in that language. Also, because by virtue of his office, he was to be in close touch with Maḥmūd and his son, he had frequent occasions of meeting and talking with them in his and their mother tongue: Persian. Further, he employed it in his conversations with the citizens of Ghaznī and the literate and business class Muslims of the Punjāb. Persian, in fact, was gaining popularity at the hands of Persian poets in the vast territory of Sultān Maḥmūd, which extended from the eastern part of the Punjāb to the furthest end of Afghānistān and Persia in the West. Abū Raihān's mastery of the Persian language and literature is evident from the fact that he was a Persian, even though he has not used Persian as a vehicle of thought in any of his literary works. In short, he holds a very prominent place among the world's writers. His works on scientific subjects are of unique value, and have no parallel in history. The historians, speaking of his insatiable thirst for reading and writing, state that his pen and his mind and eye were constantly at work, and they never ceased their activity throughout the year but for *two* days only, and that too to procure for himself the bare needs of living. Thus says Yāqūt:—

¹ و كان متباً على تحصيل العلوم منصباً الى تصنيف الكتب بفتح ابوابها
و يحيطوا بها و اقرا بها و لا يكاد يفارق يده القلم و عينه النظر و قلبه الفكر
إلا في يومي النيروز و المهرجان من السنة لا عدا ما تمس اليه الحاجة
في المعاش من بلغة الطعام و علة الرياض -

He is a most conspicuous figure among the elite of the Ghaznavīd court. Sultān Maḥmūd had kept him with due honour, and raised him to the high rank of *chief counsellor*. He also took him from Khwārazm, after its conquest, to Ghaznī, and afforded him facilities for acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū lore in India under royal patronage. Maḥmūd was from the very beginning much impressed by Abū Raiḥān's vast learning, and treated him with great kindness and consideration, since he had been introduced to Maḥmūd at Khwārazm with the following significant remark:—

² انه امام وقته في علم النجوم و ان الملوك لا يستغنون عن مثله -

He (Abū Raiḥān) is the *Imām* of his time in astronomy, and the kings cannot do without one like him.

Abū Raiḥān himself acknowledges Maḥmūd's generosity in a *qaṣīdah* as follows:—

¹ Irshād ul Arīb fī Ma'rifat il Adīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

² Ibid., p. 311.

و لم ینقبض محمود عنی بنعمة ناغنى و اقلنى مغنيا عن منا سىا
عفا عن جها لانى و ا بدى تکرماً و طرى بجاه وونقى و لبا سىا

He was born, according to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Tabrīzī, at Khwārazm in 362 A. H.; and died, according to Yāqūt, at Ghaznī in 403 A. H., at the age of 41 years, which is, however, incorrect, as it is inconsistent with Abū Raihān's own statement preserved in a letter to one of his friends, stating that he was 65 years of age in 427 A. H.² This rightly gives 362 A. H., as the date of his birth. The mistake, therefore, lies in the date of his death given by Yāqūt, which cannot be earlier than 427 A. H. by any calculation.

The reign of Sultān Mahmūd must be viewed from two different angles, as a conqueror and as a patron of letters, when considering the introduction and growth of the Persian language in India. His conquest was more effective in introducing the peoples of Hindūstān to this new tongue, while his patronage gave it popularity and consequent growth in the more congenial and healthy atmosphere of the Indian soil. After his victories in the Punjāb, he had to deal with the nobility and the masses of the Hindū population in his administrative and private capaci-

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 71.

² Sachau, Aṣār ul Bāqiyah, Preface.

troops, lived for several years in the midst of the Persian army at Ghaznī, and fought numerous battles for the Sultān. Sobindrāi was so greatly trusted by the royal house that immediately after the death of Maḥmūd, his son, Muḥammad, sent the Hindū general to the city of *Bust* in the West to crush a rebellion against the State. He fought with great valour and died on the battle-field. Nāth, no less brave and loyal than his colleague, was sent by Mas'ūd against his enemy, Niyāltagīn, a Turk. This general also died a glorious death in the thick of a battle, after gaining a number of victories for Maḥmūd and his successors. Mas'ūd on hearing of Nāth's death, was so much grieved that he did not take food for three days, and appointed none other than a near relation of the deceased, named *Tūlak*, to succeed him in command.

Another military officer was *Harī Tēk*¹ who rendered signal services to Maḥmūd in his territorial expansion and in quelling disturbances in the Punjāb. He was the chief artillery officer and was in command of a detachment of 10,000 horse and foot, consisting mostly of Rajpūts. He and his troops remained with Maḥmūd's central army. After Maḥmūd's death, Harī Tēk went away to Kashmīr, being displeased with Mas'ūd, but his son Maudūd, Maḥmūd's grandson, tried to win him back to his court, and sent Abū'Alī Kotwāl, then governor of Lāhore, to Kashmīr, who effected a reconciliation and brought him

back to Lāhore with honour. On arrival, Maudūd held him in greater esteem and kept him near his person at Ghaznī.¹ All these facts indicate how the Persian language was making itself familiar to the people of Hindūstān and influencing their culture and taste.

At this time, the famous saint and warrior, Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, a young bachelor and a prominent member of the Ghaznavīd dynasty, who had come to India from Ghaznī during the time of Mahmūd, advanced with an army of Persian soldiers towards Qannauj, and having crossed the Ganges reached Oudh. He met with some resistance at Sirhind, Kūl, Mathrā and Āgrā, but overcame all, because of the adventurous spirit of his Persian followers and their missionary zeal to efface idol-worship and spread the kingdom of Allāh upon earth. The young Ghāzī's forces, which had greatly dwindled on their long and tedious journey, reached Bahrā'ich in an almost exhausted condition. A great battle was fought against a fresh and well-equipped combined army of the Rājās of Qannauj, Gōnda and Bahrā'ich, in which the saint lost his life after a fierce 17-hour struggle on Sunday and Monday of the first week of

Spread of Persian
in Upper Hindūstān
through Sayyid Sālār
Mas'ūd Ghāzī.

¹ Farishtah, p. 46.

Jēth, which is the hottest month of the Hindū calendar year. The annual 'Urs (death anniversary) is held in the first week of this month, commencing on Sunday, in commemoration of his martyrdom and "wedding," though this never took place in his lifetime, and he died a bachelor. His tomb is held in great veneration by the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike, and wedding processions come from the neighbouring towns like Rudaulī, Satrikh, Benāres and Jaunpūr. Thousands of people gather every year to witness the ceremony of the *Fātiha*, and to pray for the cure of their ailments by seeking the saint's benedictions. This is one of the biggest 'Urs which is held in Northern India. People from all parts of the United Provinces and from Bihār and Bengal come to pay their homage to the bachelor saint, who lies buried in the *Dargāh*. The most striking feature is that many of them come all the way on foot, believing that by doing so they get the saint's blessings, which is the chief thing sought after for the fulfilment of their desires.

The cultural consequences of his journey from Lāhore to Bahrā'ich are noteworthy. It is to be seen that hundreds of his followers, who were the elite of Persia, had settled down after their general's death and the break-up of the army, in the districts of Oudh, where their descendants are still to be found. Their permanent settlement there played an important part in the introduction and spread of Persian civilization

and language in the interior of Oudh, and had a most salutary effect on the culture and literary taste of the people of this part of India. The followers of Sayyid Sālār were all Persian-speaking men who had dispersed and settled in the districts of Oudh. Because of this fact, Persian vocabulary and Persian manners found their way into the interior of the country as well. This is why the Hindū population of this Province shortly afterwards developed a taste for Persian language and literature, and within a century of the cessation of the Ghaznavīd rule began to speak and write in Persian.

The second result, which concerns itself with the growth and popularity of the Persian language in the country and the cultivation of a taste for it among the literate classes, is still more important. The chief factors responsible for this were Maḥmūd's own refined taste for Persian poetry and his liberal patronage of men-of-letters. It is stated that no less than *four hundred* scholars and poets always accompanied him on his expeditions.¹ Hence it was impossible for the indigenous taste not to have been influenced by Persian thought. The presence of these Persian elite, coupled with Maḥmūd's munificent rewards to poets, was creating a very favourable atmosphere for the Persian language to develop in India, and was earnestly attracting the people towards everything Persian.

¹ Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, fol. 67a. Also, see Daulatshāh, p. 24.

One can imagine the tremendous influence exercised by an Eastern monarch in those days. When Mahmūd moved about with his vast army of Persian followers and *four hundred* scholars and poets in attendance, his influence must have been very great on the culture and the taste of the people of Hindūstān. The Ghaznavīd *darbār* was the only centre of Persian culture in the East. The poets born in Persia were attracted to Ghaznī and Lāhore, the Persian and the Indian seats of government. This means that the territory lying between the Persian towns and the Indian Capital was all under the sway of Persian culture. The most renowned poets and scholars crossed the Punjāb, and reached as far as Oudh under the banner of Mahmūd and Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, and left their impress on the language and civilization of that place. Of the poets in Mahmūd's attendance, the following *seven* were most prominent:—

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. 'Unṣurī. | 2. 'Asjadī. | 3. Asadī. |
| 4. Farrukhī. | 5. Firdausī. | 6. Mīnū- |
| | 7. Ghazā'irī. | chehrī. |

It is out of place to discuss here the respective merits of each of them and to show how these poets refined and enriched their composition in the more congenial surroundings of India. In other words, what beneficial effect did the Indian atmosphere produce on their poetry? Briefly speaking, the niceties of thought, gaiety of composition and the buoyant

mode of expression, with which their eulogistic and descriptive poetry abounds, would not have been possible but for the Indian atmosphere which had thoroughly affected them. Besides, their *qasā'id* are historically important, specially those written to describe the scenes of battles, expeditions and victories of Maḥmūd and his successors. Persia did not produce verses to compare with these. This is the peculiarity of Persian *qasā'id* written in India in this period. A few concrete instances to illustrate this point more fully are cited below:—

Farrukhī accompanied Maḥmūd in his expedition to Somnāth. He has versified the thrilling events of this historic march in a remarkable *qasīdah*, portraying the jungles of India, the dread of the snakes, the clearing up of the way, the victories gained and, what is most important, the track and toils of the journey, which no biographer of Maḥmūd has considered his worth while to give. He also presents a faithful account of the tanks that were built to supply water for the rear guard of the army, the victories gained over the fortified towns in the way, the armies of idolators who filled the forts and the temples, the manner in which they worshipped their idol-gods and washed them every day with the holy rose water, milk and saffron, the storming and surrender of the city, Maḥmūd's generous disposition towards the vanquished, the high spirit of his personal staff and the army, and his return journey. Farrukhī,

by his graphic account, has rendered a valuable service to Persian poetry and has enhanced its prestige and worth. The original poem is a long one. Here, only a relevant portion is quoted:—

¹در ذکرِ سفرِ سومنات و قدحِ آن و شکستنِ منات و رجعتِ سلطان گوید
 فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیثِ اسکندر سخن نو آر که نورا حلا و تہست دگر
 فسانہ کهن و کارنامہ بدروغ بکار ناید رو در دروغ رنج مہر

 گمان کہ بُود کہ ہرگز کسے ز راہِ طراز بہ سومنات بُرد لشکر و چنین لشکر ؟

 ہوا ی او دژم و بادِ او چو دو دجیم زمینِ او سیہ و خاکِ او چو خاکستر
 ہمہ درخت میانِ درخت خار کشن نہ خار بلکہ سنانِ خلدہ و خنجر
 نہ مرد را سرِ آن کاندہ و نہادے پای نہ مرغ را دلِ آن کاندہ و کشادے پَر

 عجب تر آنکہ ہلک را ہی چنین گفتند کہ اندرین رہ مار دو سر بود بیمر
 شب چو خفتہ بود مرد سر بر آرد مار ہی کشد نفسِ خفتہ تا بر آید خور
 چو خورد بر آمد و گرمی بہ مردِ خفتہ رسید سہک نکرد از آن خواب نا گہ محشر
 بدین درشتی و زشتی رہ کہ کردم یاد گذشت شاہ بتوفیقِ خالقِ اکبر
 بساخت بہرِ ز پسماندگان و گم شدگان میانِ باد یہ ہا حو ضہای چوں کو تر
 بدان رہ اندر چندین حصار و شہر بزرگ خراب کرد و بکند اصل ہر یک از بن و بر
 نخست اُردوہ کز رویِ برج و بارہ او چو کوہ کوہ فرو ریخت آہن و مرمر

 چو چیلودار کہ صندوقہای گوہر یافت بکوہ پایہ او شہر یار شیو شکر

چو نَهَلَوَارَه که اندر دیار هند بهیم به نَهَلَوَارَه هسی کرد بر شہاں مفتخر
 چو مندھیر کہ در مندھیر حوضے بود چنانکہ خیرہ شدے اندر و دو چشم فکر
 فزاح پہنا حوضے بہ صد ہزار عمل ہزار بتکدہ خرد گرد حوض اندر
 دگر چو دیو لوَارَه کہ ہسچو دیو سفید پدید بود سر افراشتہ میان گذر
 یکے حصار قوی بر کران شہر و درو ز بت پرستان گرد آمدہ یکے مکشر
 فریفہ ہر روز آں سنگ را بشستند بہ آب گنگ و بہ شیر و بہ زعفران و شکر

*On Sultān's journey to Somnāth and its storming and
 breaking the idol Manāt and return*

The discourse of Alexander has become old and
 a fiction, Bring in new speech, for a new thing
 has a new taste;

An old fiction and a false work

Serve no useful purpose, go and do not labour
 in falsehoods;

Who could think that any one ever by way of
 Tarāz,

Would lead an army towards Somnāth? And
 such a huge army!

Its climate is dirty, its air like the smoke of hell,

Its land black, and its dust like the burnt ashes;

It is all thick jungle, and its trees are full of thorns,

Not thorns, but piercing spears and daggers;

Neither man could dare put his step therein,

Nor has the bird courage to spread its wing;

The most wonderful thing is that the people
 had told the king

That in this path there are countless two-headed
 snakes;
 These snakes come out at night when men are
 asleep,
 And bite them to death till it is day-break;
 When the sun appears and its heat reaches the
 sleeping man,
 He does not rise from his slumber till doomsday;
 Through this hard and evil path as above des-
 cribed,
 The king passed safely by the grace of God,
 the Almighty;
 His Majesty built for those who had lagged be-
 hind and gone astray,
 Tanks like *kaṇṣar* in the midst of the jungles;
 In that path there were many forts and big cities
 Which he devastated and pulled them each from
 its foundation;
 The first fort was that of Ludravah, from the
 turrets and walls of which,
 They hurled mountains of stones and iron;

.....

Another was Mandhēr which had a tank inside,
 It was so marvellous that the two eyes of percep-
 tion were dazed with wonder;
 It was a big tank built with a hundred thousand
 art,
 And contained one thousand small temples
 within;

The other tank was Dēvalvārah which, like the
 white demon,
 Was visible with its head aloft on our way;
 A very strong fort was in front of the city, and
 in it
 The huge crowds of idolators were collected;
 As a sacred duty they washed this idol every
 day,
 With the Ganges water, milk, saffron and sugar.

Farrukhī, as the result of his stay in India, has also made use of Hindī words in his Persian composition. An instance of it is to be found in the following verse in the word شل ;

١ بگونه شل افغانیان دو پره و تیز چو دسته دسته بهم تیر های چوں سو فار

Mīnūchehrī, a contemporary of his, who is a connecting link between Persian and Arabic poetry, was, perhaps, influenced by Indian society more than his comrade. He has used both Hindī words and sentiments in a *qas̄idah* in which he says:

٢ الا تا مومنان دارند روزه الا تا هندوان گیرند لنگهن

Another poet, Mukhtārī, who was a colleague of Hakīm Sanā'ī, had come away to India from Ghaznī in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, and settled

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 97a.

² A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court, vol. I, p. 64.

in the Punjāb. He wrote numerous *qas̄ā'id* during his stay at Lāhore and Multān in praise of the king, of which the following is the most famous:—

مسلمانان دِلے دارم کہ ضایع می شود جانش¹
در افتادم بدان دردے کہ پیدا نیست در مانش

The chief peculiarity of these *qas̄ā'id* is that they were copied in style, metre and thought by such perfect masters of poetry as Khusrau, Anwarī, Khāqānī Salmān, 'Urfī and others,² but none could approach Mukhtārī in sweetness of expression and style.³ After his arrival in India, he too could not save his literary works from the powerful influence of society and the influx of Hindī vocabulary. In a *qas̄idah* writing about a slave, whom he had purchased in the market of Multān, he says:

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 108.

² Cf. Khusrau:— بسنگے چوں سگال از دور خرسندم ز دربانش
Cf. Anwarī:— بپس وقت سخن گفتن لبِ شیرین و دندانش
Cf. Khāqānī:— دل من پیر تعلیم است و من طفل زباندانش
Cf. Salmān:— دلِ عارف در معنی برد از بکر عرفانش
Cf. 'Urfī:— دل من باغبانِ عشق و حیرانی گلستانش

³ Cf. the statement:—

و بسیاری از اکابر این قصیده را جواب گفته اند همانا زیباییِ این
قصیده نکتہ باشد —

(Daulatshāh, p. 94, ed. by Browne)

¹زمن بدیدے ہادے بچستہ گفتے "چوں"

مکس بدیدے ہر من نشستہ گفتے "ماز"

The opening line of this *qasīdah* is:—

یکے غلامکِ ہندی خریدم از بازار ہداں بہا کہ ز گفتارِ آنم آید عار

His name was 'Uṣmān which he had originally adopted as his *nom de guerre*, but subsequently changed it for Mukhtārī. He enjoyed the confidence and company of the Ghaznavid kings. His ideas and poetic fervour could be gauged from his *qasā'id*. The following, which is one of the best, has been imitated by almost all the leading poets of Persia:—

روزگارے خوشتر است از شکر و عنبر ترا

یاسمن در عنبر است و لاله در شکر ترا

He was a most independent but least cautious poet of the time. When he monopolised freedom in the domain of poetry, specially satire, he, at times, broke the bounds of even ordinary rules and conventions. The best example of it is to be found in the *qasīdah* describing the purchase of the slave, already referred to. In another *qasīdah* written in praise of an *amīr*, he begins with the desire of purchasing a slave, which indicates his originality and his peculiar taste for strife against conventionalism. He says:—

¹ Bayāḡ i Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, Mss. fol. 67a.

دی غلامے دیدم اندر راه چوں مهر منیر
 کز پروں گل بود و مشک و از دروں می بود شیر
 تن چو اندر آب شیر و رخ چو گل اندر چمن
 لب چو لعل اندر نبات و بر چو سیم اندر حریر
 پیکرے بس دلستان و قامتے بس دلربا
 ناز کے بس دلفریب و شاہدے بس دلاپذیر
 دست و بازویش بلور و عارض و دندان چو در
 زلف و آنر و چوں کمان و غمز و بالایش چو تیر
 من برو چشمے زدم چونائ کہ بے شرمائ ز دند
 او ز شرم آتش پراگند از بر بدر منیر
 چوں بیامد گفتم ای کردہ دلم زیر و زبر
 خار باد آں کت همی بیروں فرستد قیو قیو
 چوں تو حورالعین کہ دارد چشمها پر آب کرد
 گفت حورالعین بدست دیو کے باشد اسیر
 خواجہ دارم کہ گوی از نام او دارد نفور
 طلعتے دارد کہ چشم از دیدنش گر دیدہ خیر
 او چنانست از من و بے من جہانے در فغاں
 او نفور است از من و بے من جہانے در نفیر
 گفتم ای جانم فدائے روی چوں ماہ تو باد
 گر تو بفر و شد بجائ باشد روا جان حقیر
 گفت رو تدبیر زد کن جان مددہ زیرا کہ هست
 چوں ترا از جان خداوند و مرا شد در گزیر
 گرت باید آستین از بہر من پُر زر کنی
 دامن عثمان عبداللہ اسمعیل گہر

The last verse containing *گرمیز* or "skip" towards the praise of his benefactor, 'Uṣmān 'Abdullāh bin Ismā'il, is so pleasing to the ear that the listener cannot but be inclined to fulfil the desire of the writer of the *qasīdah*.

In one of his *qasā'id*, he has praised his riding-camel in much the same way as was done by the 'Arab poet, Mutanabbī, who, on a critical occasion, was carried by his animal safely through the midst of his enemies from Syria to Kūfāh. The chief feature of Mukhtārī's poem is that his similes and ideas, which are Persian, are modified by his Indian surroundings, since he had to traverse with the king's troops the mountainous region of the frontier and the forests of the Punjāb. He says:—

چو من به قوتِ اسلام و نصرتِ داور	ز بهر خدمتِ بستم کمر به عزم سفر
مدیحه بود مرا رهبر و سخنِ مونس	امید بود مرا همسر و خرد یاور
بخواستم ز مجمرِ جماره آورد	یکه هیو نی صحرا نورد که پیگر
سپهر گردن و آگنده ران و پهن قفا	بلند قامت و بسیار موی و کوچک سر
بریده از دهنش خوشهای مروارید	دمیده از کتفش برگهای سوسن بر
چو باد پای به کوهان او در آوردم	ز جای برجست آن ناد پای کوه سپهر
بسان نافه صالح بیک شب اندر کوه	هزار بار برون آمد از میان حجر
فلک بود متکبر ز شورش عالم	زمین بود متحرک ز جنبش لشکر
ز خاک تیره کنی رزمه را بالین	ز خون تازه کنی چنگجوی را بستر
در آفرینش بر نده بود خنجر تو	نه تربیت ز فسوں یافت باز آهنگر
نمود بالله اگر نام او برد یا جج	بریده گردد صد جای سید اسعندر

A specimen of Mukhtārī's quatrain, which is on love, is cited below:—

خواهم منا همه جهان دشمن من پیراهن تو یکے و پیراهن من
از بازوی من قلاده در گردن تو وز گیسو تو کند در گردن من

Besides Farrukhī, many a Persian poet of fame,

The coming of who came to India along with
'Asjadī to India, and Mahmūd, also composed poems
his congratulatory poem on the victory on the occasion of his victories.
of Somnāth.

One such was 'Asjadī, who accompanied the Sultān to Somnāth, and presented a marvellous *qasīdah* of which only a few lines are extant:—

تا شاه خسروان سفر سو منات کرد کردار خویش را علم معجزات کرد
آثار روشن ملکان گذشته را نزدیک بکردار همه از مشکلات کرد
بزدو دز اهل کفر جهان را بر اهل دین شکر و دعای خویشتن از واجبات کرد
محمود شهر یار کریم آنکه ملک را بنیاد بر محامد و بر مکرّمات کرد
شطرنج ملک باخت ملک با هزار شاه هر شاه را به لعب دگر شاه مات کرد
شاهان تو از سکندر بیشی بدان جهت کو هر سفر که کرد بدین جهت کرد
عین الرضاء آیزد جوئی تو در سفر باز او سفر به جستن عین الکیافه کرد
تو کارها به نیزه و تیر و کمان کنی او کارها بکلیه و کلک و درات کرد
سر در نکرده پیهشت هر مهتری و ری چونان که جیبیل و بهرج و پال و جات کرد
مندھیر را گرفتگی و می بایدت چنانک دیدیم نیزه تو چه در سومنات کرد

The word دیدیم in the second line of the last verse clearly suggests his presence during the attack

on and conquest of Somnāth.

‘Unsuri, the poet laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, also accompanied his master in several battles that were fought with Jaipāl and his allies. He has described in a remarkable *qasīdah* the storming of the fort of Peshāwar and the brilliant victories gained on the way in the historic march on Multān. Some lines are quoted below:—

شنیده خبر شاه هندوان جیبپال	که بر سپهر بلندش همی بسود افسر
بدان صفت سپه چو شب سیاه بزرگ	بدست ایشان شمشیرهای همچو سحر
چود و تیره درو آتشی زبانه زان	تو گفته که پرانده شد بدشت سقر
خداگانا خراسان بدشت پیشاور	به حمله پیرانند آن همه لشکر
حکایت سفر مولتان همی دانی	و گر ندانی تاج الفتوح پیش آورد
اگر ز دجله فریدون گذشت بے کشتی	بشاهنامه بر آن بر حایت است سپر
ازان سپس که درو وهم را نبود پای	وزان سپس که بران باد را نبود عبر
به مولتان شد و در دره دیست قلعه کشاد	که هر یک را صد بند بود چون خیر
بلاد و بتکده شان کشاد و سوخت همه	بهر باد همه توده های خاکستر

Similarly Zinati, who was among the chief counsellors of Sultān Mahmūd, has fulfilled his duty as a poet. Zinati's arrival in India, and his poems. When the Sultān, in one of his expeditions from Ghaznī, entered into Hindūstān, after suffering the hardships of the journey all along, Zinati at once wrote a *qasīdah* consoling the king against his troubles

and weariness thus:—

ای خداوند روزگار پناه	مطربان را بخوان و باده بخواه
تا بدان لعل می فرو شویم	کا مها راز گرد و محنت راه
پس جوانمرد وار بر سازیم	مجلسے پر نہنگ و شیر آگاہ
میسرہ مطربانِ خوش سازیم	مہمنہ دوستانِ نیکو خواہ
غم گریز د ز پیش ما چونانک	خان و قیصر ز پیش شاہنشاه
خسرو خسرواں ملک محمود	ملت و ملک را ہمیشہ پناه

In another *qasīdah* he addresses the king on a similar occasion as follows:—

ایا شہر یارے کہ گردِ سپاہت	ہمی چشمِ دین را کند توتیائی
بود دین تو مر جہاں را ہمیشہ	چو اندامِ آزردہ را مومہائی
ز خونِ عدو گردِ فتنہ نشانی	بہ تیغِ ہمہ زنگِ بدعت زدائی
مگر نذر داری کہ ہر مہ کہ نوشد	شہے را بہ بندی و شہرے کشائی
مگر عہد داری کہ همچوں سکندر	ملوکِ زمیں را تو قدرتِ نائی

During the rule of the Ghaznavids, the whole of the Punjāb was annexed to the Persian empire, by virtue of which the first Persian *darbār* was held in the very lifetime of Maḥmūd at Lāhore. Besides the Persian nobility, the civil and military officers and the soldiers, many a learned citizen of Ghaznī and Khurāsān, including the poets, came down to stay in the neighbourhood of the Indian capital. The Indian people had become familiar with stray Persian

expressions and sentiments in Subuktagīn's time, but when Mahmūd made his triumphant entry into Hindūstān with his vast Persian following, an impetus was given to Persian learning unprecedented in history, as a result of which they became fully acquainted with the Persian language and Persian ways of life. Immediately after Mahmūd's death, Lāhore became virtually the seat of the government in preference to Ghaznī, owing to Mahmūd's stay in the Punjāb for the most part of the year, as necessitated by political exigencies. At this time, the great Ṣūfī saints, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujwīrī and Shaikh Farīduddīn Zanjānī, migrated to Lāhore, where they spent the rest of their lives in propagating their mission and educating their new converts in the principles of Persian mysticism.¹

The ancestors of the renowned poets, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, of whom notice will be taken hereafter, had also come to stay in the Punjāb long before it was occupied by Mahmūd, in consequence of which they were born and bred at Lāhore. At this time, Persian literary taste prevailed all over the territory extending from the cities of Persia to the extreme east of Lāhore. The boundaries of the empire, during Sūltān Mas'ūd's reign, were extended further eastwards, so that Iṣfahān, Rai, Kirmān, Sajistān, Ghaznī, Sindh, Gujarāt, the

¹ Ma'āshir ul Kirām, p. 6.

kingdom of Ghōr and the whole of the Punjāb came under his sway, which, in other words, was the realm of Persian culture. The 'Arab historian, Yāqūt, speaking of the extent of Mas'ūd's empire, his literary taste and patronage of letters, observes:—

و اما ابنه السلطان مسعود فقد كان فيه اقبال على علم النجوم و محبة
لصقايق العلوم و كان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً كريماً انقائل كثيرة محباً للعلماء
كثير الاحسان اليهم و التقرب لهم و جاز الشعراء بجوائز عظيمة على قصيدة
الف دينار و اعطى آخر لكل بيت الف درهم و كان يكتب خطاً حسناً و
كان ملكه عظيماً فسيحاً ملك اصفهان و الرى و كرمان و سجستان و السند
و غزنه و بلاد الغور و الهند و ملك كثيرها منها -

Abul Fazl Baihaqī, the eye witness, writes about Mas'ūd's Persian taste and his command of the language as follows:—

از پادشاهان این خاندان عالمقام رضى الله عنهم كسى را ندیدم كه پارسی
چنان خوانده و نبشته كه وے -

Among the kings of this exalted dynasty, may God be pleased with them!, I did not see any one who could read and write Persian so well as he.

The official and court language of his great empire was Persian. Hence it is authoritatively stated that

¹ Irshād ul Arīb, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

² Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, Mss. fol. 347a.

the poetic taste of the people acquired in the *Ghaznī darbār of India* was keeping pace with the progress made in Khurāsān and elsewhere. Probably it was for this reason that the Ghaznavīd kings finally declared Lāhore to be the metropolis of their Empire in 429 A. H. It is no wonder then, if India, at this stage, produced poets who, in general merit, equalled their Persian colleagues. The two noteworthy personalities, in this connection, were Abū ‘Abdullāh Alankatī and Ḥamīduddīn Mas‘ūd *Shāl-i-Kōb*, who flourished at Lāhore. ‘Aufī says about the latter that his poetry approached that of Rūdakī and ‘Unsurī¹, the two great leaders of Persian thought who have been already cited. He lived in the time of Sultān Shihāb-uddīn Ghōrī; while the other, Abū ‘Abdullāh Alankatī, was a contemporary of Sultān Mas‘ūd. Another striking personality, whose arrival and stay at Lāhore during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm gave a great incentive to Persian taste and learning in the Punjāb, was Abū Naṣr Fārsī, better known as ادیب (an adept in literature). He founded a University at Lāhore called خانقاه ابو نصر or, according to ‘Aufī, خانقاه سعد²,

¹ Cf. the statement:—

حمیدالدین مسعود بن سعد شالی کوب از احرار خطهٔ لو هور بود و در طبع
ذکی و شعر وی ترین دودکی و عنصری —

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 411).

² Cf.—
الصاحب الکبیر قوام الملک نظام الدین ابو نصر هبة الله الفارسی

which remained for centuries, under different designations, the centre of Persian and Arabic cultures in the East. It imparted instruction in the various branches of Persian learning, besides those of Arabic, comprising chiefly of literature, rhetoric, philosophy, mysticism, commentary of the Qur'ān and Hadiṣ. It was endowed with permanent royal *jāgīrs* bestowed by the government and munificent charities from the public. The number of alumni residing in the hostels attached to the University and those attending as day-scholars could be estimated from the fact that an altogether new town had come into existence with their continual influx.¹ They came from all parts of Hindūstān and even foreign countries like Kāshghar, Trans-Caspian Province, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān, Ghaznī and Herāt. This great Eastern University continued to flourish under State patronage until the invasion of Tīmūr. It gave fixed allow-

رحمه الله وزیرے صاحب کفایت فاضل د رایت وافر فضل شامل بذل در
دولت سلطان رضی ابراہیم رحمہ الله کارهای بزرگ کرده و بہ فضل و
کفایت معروف و مشہور گشتہ - خانقاہ عمد در لوہور یکے از خیرات اوست -
(Ibid., vol. I, p. 71).

¹ و جوق جوق تشنگان علوم از سائر بلاد ہند و ولایتہای کاشغر و ماوراءالنہر و
عراق و بخارا و سمرقند و خراسان و غزنین و ہری و غیر ذلک ازاں خیرات
منہج منتفع می شدند چنانکہ یک آبادانی نو در حدود لوہور پدید آمد -
(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 37).

ances to the poor scholars in addition to providing food and clothing to the boarders free of cost. It was mainly because of this institution that the study of the Persian language became wider and more popular day by day among the people of upper Hindūstān.

In the beginning, when the Persian schools were first started in the Punjāb, it was mainly the Muslim population that was, on account of their natural liking and aptitude, benefited thereby, as the Hindūs obviously were less inclined towards the acquisition of Persian arts and sciences. But they cannot be said to have wholly escaped the influence of their Persian neighbours. In fact, after the Muslims, they were the next to take the advantage of such institutions. We see that the Persian Primary schools had sprung up in almost every important street and *bāzār* of the towns of Lāhore and Multān by the end of the 6th century A. H., and the inhabitants, irrespective of their religion, were taking an interest in the study of Persian. As a result of this, the Hindū nobility of the Punjāb, who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavīd kings and their successors, were holding important positions in the civil and military ranks of the State. They not only understood the Persian language, but also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was more specially due to the continued influx of cultured Persian families into the towns of the Punjāb, so that their multi-

plicity in the Provinces had made its capital the cradle of the Persian language, even under the Ghaznavids. Their rule lasted for about two centuries, beginning from the coronation of Sultān Maḥmūd in 387 A. H. until 582 A. H., when Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested Lāhore from the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh.¹ Since long before Maḥmūd, there was a continual procession of scholars and poets from Persia and other countries coming to India. The result was that India produced scholars who vied with their Persian colleagues. Among such poets born in India, the first and the most noted is Abul Faraj Rūnī, and the second is Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. They were born in the Muslim families which had migrated to Lāhore from Khurāsān. Both of them gained their reputation in the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznavī and his son Ibrāhīm, and produced numerous *qasā'id* in praise of the Sultāns to whose courts they were attached.

It is strange that the Persian historians have, one and all, assigned a Persian Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. home to Mas'ūd.² This grave

¹ *Note*.—Nizāmuddīn Hiravī, in his *Tārīkh*, states that Khusrau Malik (son of Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh) was the last Ghaznavīd king from whom Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested the kingdom of Lāhore, and whom he sent to Ghaznī as a captive.

² Cf. Āzar:—

error was committed even by such an eminent writer as 'Aufi.¹ Against these verdicts, we have the authority of Mas'ūd himself, which is irrefutable. It appears that Lāhore was his ancestral home, where he owned some landed property as well, which, however, was confiscated in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm by his officers, who were not on good terms with Mas'ūd. His family, which resided at

است درین جا نوشته می شود -

(Ātashkadah, p. 162).

Cf. Daulatshāh:—

ابوالفخر مسعود بن سعد سلمان نور قبه جرجانی است و دیوان او در
عراق عجم و طبرستان و دارالمرز شهری عظیم دارد -
(p. 47, ed. by Browne).

Cf. Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

نام مسعودش مسعود پدرش سعد بن سلمان و اصلش از همدان
و منشأش جرجان و خون در خدمت مسعود بن محمود و سلطان ابراهیم
غزنوی رتبه بلند و پایه ارجمند گزید امیر ے بود بے نظیر و فاضل صافی ضمیر
در شعر و شاعری کثر کسے بیایه او رسیده و فصحا تتبع طرز وی را گزیده -
(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 514).

Note:—Mirzā Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb Qazwīnī is, perhaps, the first Persian scholar who, in his valuable monograph on *Mas'ūd Sa'd i Salmān*, has pointed out that the latter was an Indian and a product of Lāhore.

¹ Cf.

مسعود سعد سلمان و اگرچه مولد او همدان بود

(Vol. II, p. 246)

Lāhore, consisted of 30 to 40 members, including all his relations. He had a son, a daughter, an old mother and two sisters: the daughter had become blind. His father, Sa'd Salmān, had served the Ghaznavid kings in India for the long period of sixty years. The ancestral property at Lāhore was the main support of the family, so that its confiscation subjected the members to grave hardships, in consequence of which Mas'ūd had undertaken a journey from Lāhore to Ghaznī, to prefer an appeal. But the result was just the opposite: he was imprisoned twice, on suspicion of being a rebel, in the forts of *Nāy* and *Sū*. All these events are fully described in the versified appeal and other *qasā'id* which he composed, at different times, in praise of the Sultān. A few extracts from them, which throw light on the real point in question, are cited below. In the following, he dwells on his relation with India, detailing his father's long service, the plight of the members of his family, and his exile and imprisonment in the fort of *Sū*:—

پدر بنده سعد بن سلساں	شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد ¹
بادو خواهر بیوم هندستان	دختر خرد دارم و پسرے
پسر از روزگار سرگرداں	دختر از اشک دیده نابینا
بسته در راحت تو جان و رواں	سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پیوند

¹ *Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān*, Mss. fol. 29a (Prof. A. Q. Fānī, Lucknow University).

.....
 1 و لیک ز آلے دارم کہ درکنار مرا چو جان شیریں پرورد و مرد کرد و کلان
 نہ بست هرگز اورا خیال و ندیشید کہ من بقلعۃ سو مانم او بہندستان

For sixty whole years service was rendered thee
 By my father, Sa'd bin Salmān;
 I have a small daughter and a son,
 With two sisters in the soil of India;
 The daughter on account of tears of the eye is
 blind,
 The son on account of the vicissitudes of time
 perplexed;
 From thirty to forty people among my rela-
 tions and kinsmen
 Have bound with thy comfort their lives and
 souls;

.....
 But I have an old lady (my mother) who, in her
 lap,
 Brought me up like her sweet soul, and saw me
 grow up a man;
 Never had she thought or imagined
 That I would remain in the fort of Sū, and she
 in India.

In another *qasīdah* he declares that India is his
 مولد (place of birth) where he has his father's property

¹ Ibid. fol. 19a.

and his son and daughter:—

سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا¹ بویۀ دختر و هوای پسر
چوں بهندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقارِ پیرِ پدر

Towards my land of birth drew my thoughts
The fragrant breath of my daughter and the
longing for my son;
Since in India I became a sojourner
On the fertile and barren land of my old
father.

Still more significant are the lines in which he recalls Lāhore with passionate longing and emotion, fixing it as his birth place:—

مولدم لوهور د از لوهور دور و یسک ای لوهور بے تو کے سرور

My birth-place is Lāhore, and I am far away from
Lāhore,
Alas, O Lāhore, where is joy without thee?

چہ یادِ شهرِ لہور و یارِ خویش کنم مباد کس کہ شد از شهر و یارِ خویش نفور³

How fondly I recall to my mind the city of
Lāhore and my friends!
May there be none who shows disgust with his
own city and friends.

¹ Ibid. fol. 27b.

² Ibid. 33a.

³ Ibid. fol. 18b.

1 بهیچ نوع گناہے دگر نی دانند مرا جز اینکه دریں شهر مولک و منشااست

No crime of mine other than this they know

That in this city (Lāhore) I was born and bred.

Mas'ūd was a distinguished and most accomplished poet writing in the Persian language. His birth took place in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd, but he acquired fame in Sultān Ibrāhīm's time. In the beginning of his poetic career he was greatly honoured by the Sultān, but subsequently fell in his estimation, because of suspected infidelity towards the State, and was consequently imprisoned in the fort of *Nāy*. Later, he was released on Ibrāhīm's death, but was again put in prison in the fort of *Sū* by his successor. On his second release, he gave up the service of the king and repaired to Ghaznī, where he passed his life in contemplation and retirement. He has been declared by competent judges and the leaders of thought in Persia a perfect master of poetry. Thus says 'Aufi:—

2 مسعود سعد که از نوادر ایام و افضل انام بود گاه ببال اقبال در فضایی
هوای جلال پرواز کرده... گاه چون تے بشکرِ فضل و افعال کام جهان را
شهریں کرده... و بر او رنگِ بیان سلطان بود... و آنچه از شعر او
استماع افتاد است هم اُستادانه و مطبوع است و بیتے چند از لطایف اشعار
او ایراد کرده آید -

¹ Ibid. fol. 15a.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.

Nizāmī 'Arūzi Samarqandī writes :

۱ و اربابِ خود و انصاف دانند که حسیاتِ مسعود در علو بچه درجه
است و در فصاحت بچه پایه بود - وقت باشد که من از اشعار او همی
خوانم موی بر اندام من بر پای خیزد و جای آن بود که آب از چشم من
برود -

And the possessors of wisdom and impartial judgment know in what degree are the poetic touches of Mas'ūd striking in grandeur, and to what extent in eloquence. At times, when I read his poems (I feel as if) the hair stands on end in my body, and it chances that tears very nearly flow from my eyes.

The most striking point about Mas'ūd's poetic talent is that the great masters of Persian thought like Hakīm Sanā'i, Amīr Mu'izzī, Mukhtārī, Adīb i Sābir and Anwarī have followed his style of writing, specially in *qasīdah*, and have accepted him as their master and guide. Of these, Sanā'i, Mu'izzī and Mukhtārī were among his contemporaries and friends. Sanā'i, in fact, was passionately fond of Mas'ūd's poetry, and had taken upon himself the task of collecting Mas'ūd's verses in a separate book called *dīwān*. This is borne out by Sanā'i's own statement in which he pays a high tribute of praise to Mas'ūd's compo-

¹ Chahār Maqālah, p. 56, Lucknow edition.

sition, comparing its charm and effect on the people to those of the *Qur'ān* on the unbelievers in converting them to the faith when the Holy verses were read to them by the associates and companions of the Holy Prophet. The following lines from a *qit'a* of Sanā'ī addressed to Mas'ūd are worthy of notice:—

کافران را همی مسلمان کرد	۱ چون بدید این دهی که گفته تو
که مصائبی ز نزل قرآن کرد	کرد شعر جمیل تو ز انسان
عقل او گرد طبع جولان کرد	چون علو جهان بشعر تو دید
چون فراهم نهاد دیوان کرد	شعرها را بجمله در دیوان
در جهان در و گوهر ارزان کرد	تا چو دریای موجزن سخت
لعل را با خنز بمیزان کرد	گفت آرد سنانی از سر چهل
معجز شعرهاست حیران کرد	لیک معذور دار از آنکه مرا

داغ مسعود سعد سلمان کرد	پس چو شعر بگفت و نیک آمد
چگر و دل چو لعل و مرجان کرد	شعر چون در تو حسود ترا
بر همه شعر خواندن آسان کرد	سختی عذب سهل مستمع است
مر ترا پیشوای گیهای کرد	چه دعا گویمت که خود هنرت

When this slave saw that thy poetry
 Turned the infidels into Muslims;
 He did with thy beautiful verses the same
 As the Companions of the Prophet did with the
 Qur'ān;
 When he saw the world uplifted by thy poetry,

¹ *Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān*, Mss., fol. 56a.

His wisdom swiftly went round his disposition
(desire);

When all his verses in a book

He (Sanā'i) put together, he named it *dīwān*;

So that thy speech like a surging sea

Made the pearls and jewels in the world cheap;

Sanā'i said, "Aye in ignorance,

He put the ruby along with a shell in one balance";

But pardon me for this reason that me

The miracles of thy verse hath perplexed;

Thereafter if any one who composed a line and it
was good,

It took the brand of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;

Thy pearl-like verse made thy enemies'

Liver and heart like ruby and coral;

Thy sweet poetry looks easy but impossible to
imitate,

It made easy for all to recite poetry;

What good could I wish thee since thine own
skill

Verily made thee leader of the world.

Adīb i Sābir, while priding on his poetry, recalls
to his mind the powers of Mas'ūd thus:—

گر این طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودے
بجاں صد آفریں کر دے دوان سعد سلمانش

¹ Dr. Hādī Hasan, *Falakī Shīrwānī*, p. 92 (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. VI, London, 1929).

If this beautiful style of composition in poetry
 had been the lot of Mas'ūd,
 A hundred tributes of praise the soul of Sa'd
 'Salmān would have paid to itself.

Amīr Mu'izzī, the poet-laureate of the court of
 Malik Shāh Saljūqī, and Adīb i Sābir both were among
 the great admirers of Mas'ūd. They hailed him not
 only as their master but as their *lord* in the realm of
 Persian verse. Mu'izzī's tribute is of special signi-
 ficance, since he goes many a step beyond his comrade,
 and assigns to Mas'ūd's work a rank after the Qur'ān,
 a tribute which, very curiously, coincides with Sanā'i's.
 Thus says Mu'izzī:—

اُس شاعرے سخنور کز نظم او نکوتر کس در جہاں کلامے نشنید بعدِ قرآن¹
 در مجلسِ بزرگانِ خالی مبادِ هرگز پیرایہٴ بزرگی مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان

That learned poet, better than whose verse
 None in this world heard a speech after the
 Qur'ān;
 In the assembly of the great, may never be amiss
 The ornament of greatness: Mas'ūd Sa'd
 Salmān.

In another *qasīdah*, he compares Mas'ūd's power

Note:—The learned author has found this verse to belong
 to Adīb i Sābir, and corrects Daulatshāh who wrongly ascribes
 it to Falakī. (Cf. Daulatshāh, p. 47).

¹ *Diwān i Malik ul Kalām Amīr Mu'izzī*, Mss. fol. 43a.

over poetry with that of Solomon over genii :—

¹ شریفِ خاطرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان را
 مستخر است سخنِ چونِ پریِ سلیمان را
 حکایتِ خردش روشنی دهد دل را
 روایتِ سخنش تازگی دهد جان را
 اگر دلیلِ بزرگی است فضلِ پس نه عجب
 که او دلیلِ بزرگی است فضلِ یزدان را

To the noble intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān
 Poetry is captive as fairy to Solomon;
 The tale of his quick wit gives light to the heart,
 Recitations from his poetry impart freshness
 to the soul;
 If learning be the sign of greatness, it is not a
 wonder then
 That he is the sign of the greatness of God's
 munificence.

Mukhtārī calls Mas'ūd an unfathomable ocean and a deep and endless cloud of poetry:—

² چون جز و بکل باز شد معانی زی خاطرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان
 مخدوم سخنِ پر و دانِ مجلس سر دفترِ خوانِ گسترانِ میدان
 طبعش به سخن ده هزار دریا دستش به سخا صد هزار چندان
 ابر هنرش ناپدید گوشه بحر سخنش ناپدید پایان

¹ Ibid. fol. 13b.

² *Dīwān-i-Mukhtārī*, Mss., fol. 43a.

Like the part to the whole, the meaning reverted
 To the intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;
 He is the leader of the nourishers of poetry in
 the assembly,
 He is the chief of the spreaders of the banquet of
 discourse before the public;
 His poetic imagination equals ten thousand
 seas,
 His hand in liberality is a hundred times as
 great;
 The cloud of his merit is without end,
 The sea of his poetry has no shore.

In the following lines Mukhtārī further tells us that Mas'ūd's poetry was taken to Khurāsān as a rare gift to the people. This, in other words, means that contemporary Persia bowed to Mas'ūd's poetic genius, and greatly welcomed his poetry :

هر بیت کم اندیشه تر و شعرت شد نادره تر تحفه خراسان¹
 اشعار ترا در جهان گرفتند باشد اثر خاتم سلیمان

Every couplet of thine from the least thought
 out composition
 Became a rare gift for Khurāsān;
 To be in possession of thy verses in this world
 Is just as good in effect as to possess the seal of
 Solomon.

¹ Ibid.

The universal esteem in which his poetry was held in Persia is a real asset to India's achievement in the art of Persian versification and makes it an equal partner in the elevation of Persian letters. What is most important to notice in this connection is that many a Persian poet, both in Mas'ūd's life-time and after his death, came down to Lāhore from the Persian centres of learning, and became his pupil and his pupil's pupil.

There are several *qasā'id* of Mas'ūd in his *diwān* in praise of Mahmūd's grandson, Sultān Ibrāhīm. The following *qasīdah*, in which the poet dwells on Ibrāhīm's bravery and exhorts him to extend the boundaries of his Indian Empire by waging war and making fresh conquests, is quoted below as an illustration of his heroic poetry:—

۱ ای عزمِ سفر کرده و بسته کمر فتح
 بکشاد چپ و راست فلک بر تو در فتح
 مسعود جهانگیر که از دهر سعادت
 هر لحظه بسوی تو فرستد نفر فتح
 مانند سنبل سر بسوی دزم نهادی
 چون تیر میان تو ببندد کمر فتح
 صد فتح کنی بیشک و صد سال ازین پس
 در هند بهر خطه ببیند اثر فتح

¹ Muntakhab, vol. I, pp. 36-7.

چندانست بود فتح که در عرصهٔ عالم
هر روز بگویند بهر جا خبر فتح
دمح تو و تیر تو و شمشیر تو باشد
گر نقش کند رحم مصور صور فتح
چون گفت زخم سبک تیغ گرانست
سرگند گرانش نبود جز بسر فتح

He also wrote *qas̄ā'id* in praise of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. In this connection it may be noted that he has made an important departure from the established practice in the sphere of panegyric poetry which was, up till his time, limited to *qas̄idah*. Very few poets, indeed, had before him used any other form of metrical composition as a vehicle for praise. But Mas'ūd extended its bounds by using freely all types of poetry for the purpose. The forms which were commonly employed by him to supersede *qas̄idah* were *musaddas*, *ghazal* and *qit'a*. Some instances of each are given below:—

Musaddas

¹ بهرام شاه خسرو گیتی کشای گشت خورشید دهر و سایهٔ فرّ خدای گشت
چترش که شد همایون فرّ های گشت اودا خدای عز و جل دهنمای گشت
آن خنجر ز دو دهن دولت فرای گشت
دوی عدوی او شده چون چتر او سیاه

¹ Ibid. p. 43.

تا در زمانه شاه جهان تخم عدل کاشت
 هر مجرمی که یافت از و جرم در گذاشت
 گر مدح او سپهر بر آب رواں گذاشت
 چون نقش سنگ صورتش آب رواں نداشت
 تا اوج چرخ دین حق و داد سر فراشت
 آن شاه داد گستر و حق و رزو دیں پناه

Ghazal

ای سلسله مشک فکنده بقمر بر
 خندیده لب پر شکر تو بشکر بر
 چون قامت تو نیست سہی سر و خراماں
 چون چہرہ تو نیست گل لعل بپر بر
 گل از سبق چہرہ تو شسته بخون رخ
 سر و از حسد قامت تو دست بسر بر
 تا در سر من گشته کہ در بر کشت تنگ
 گہ دست بسر بر زنم و گاہ بدر بر
 چندان غم و اندوہ فراز آمدہ در دل
 تا تودہ شدست اندہ و غم یک بہ دگر بر
 دل شد سپر جان ز نہیب مژگ تو
 تا چون مژگ زخمی زند آید بہ سپر بر
 تا ہجر نشستہ است بہ نزدیک تو ساکن
 آن وصل سراسیمہ بماند است بدر بر
 من بر تو ہی ہر چہ کنم دست نیام
 ای رشکِ قمر دست کہ ناید بقمر بر

وله

با من بتافت یارو نتابم ز تابِ او
 طاقت نماند بیش مرا با عتابِ او
 از رشکِ آن نقاب که بر روی او رسد
 گشت این تنم ضعیف چو تارِ نقابِ او
 چو نوشم آید ارچه چو زهرم دهد جواب
 ز یراکه هست بر لب راهِ جوابِ او
 داند که هست بسته بز لفتین او دلم
 هر ساعتی فزون کند آن پیچ و تابِ او
 خوردم شرابِ عشقش یک جام و زان هنوز
 اندر سر منست خسارِ شرابِ او
 چون ز پخته شد رخ و چون مشک خام قن
 زان آفتابِ تابان و ز مشکناپِ او
 گر ز ز آفتاب زیادت شود همی
 نقصان چرا شود زدم از آفتابِ او
 چنگِ عقابِ زلفش و روی نذر و رخ
 ایمن رخ نذر و ز چنگِ عقابِ او
 باز سپید روی غرابِ سیاه زلف
 و ز بیم باز او شده لوزل غرابِ او

Qit'a .

چون بدیدم بدیده تحقیق که چهل منزل فناست کنوں
 زاد مردان نیک محضر را روی در برقع خفاست کنوں
 آسان چون حریف نا منصف بر ره عشوه و دغااست کنوں

طبع بیمار من ز بستر آرز
 و ز عقائق خانۀ توبہ نو شد اروی صدق خواست کنوں
 وین زبان جهان خدیو سرای ما دح حضرتِ خداست کنوں
 لهجۀ تو نوای خوش زخمه بلبل باغ مصطفاست کنوں
 عزتِ جامۀ قصب بر من چون فزون شد خرد بکاست کنوں
 سر آسوده و تن آزاده پنبج گز پشم و پنبه راست کنوں
 مدتِ خدمتِ شما کردم نوبتِ خدمتِ خداست کنوں

There are about five thousand verses in Mas'ūd's Persian *dīwān*, but his poetic flight was not confined to Persian only. He wrote three *dīwāns*: one *Arabic*, one *Persian* and one *Hindī*. This is borne out by 'Aufi's statement as follows:—

1 و او راسه دیوان است یکے بتازی و یکے پیارسی و یکے بهندونی

And he has *three dīwāns*, one in Arabic, one in Persian and one in Hindī.

This is further supported by Amīr Khusrau:—

2 پیدش ازین از شاهان سخن کسے راسه دیوان نبود مگر مرا کہ خسرو
 ممالکِ کلام - مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آن سه دیوان
 در عبارتِ عربی و فارسی و هندوی است و در پارسی مجود کسے سخن
 راسه قسم نہ کردہ جز من -

Before this, none from among the kings of

¹ Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.

² Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction, p. 66.

poetry had three *dīvāns* except myself who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses three, yet those three *dīvāns* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into three kinds but me.

His Arabic and Hindī works prove his versatility and his rare accomplishments of which no parallel instance is to be found in the Ghaznavīd period. It is regrettable that not a single specimen of his pure Hindī composition is preserved in any of the hitherto known chronicles, but some instances of the admixture of Hindī with Persian are quoted below from his Persian *dīvān* :—

بر شال ای بهار هندستان ای نجات از بالای تابستان

ای پرستار سنگ و سکه درین دی گرفتار عشق شمع و لکن

دل نمی آرد که از مستیش کس وارهاند یا به بیو هاری دهد

This age, after Mahmūd's regime, is the most noted in the history of Persian literature in India for the productivity of its poets and prose-writers. When Bahrām Shāh died, his *darbār* was full of Persian and Indian poets, but Mas'ūd was the second great poet, after Abul Faraj Rūnī, who was a genuine Indian product.

Mahmūd fought *seventeen* important battles in Mahmūd's Indian connection with his conquest of campaigns. India, which are given in order of succession as follows¹:—

1.	Forts of Sarhad and Lāmghān	390	A.H.
2.	Peshāwar	391	„
3.	Bhīrā (Bhātyā) and Bhatindā ..	395	„
4.	Multān	396	„
5.	Nausā	398	„
6.	Nagarkōt	399	„
7.	Attock and Narain	400	„
8.	Fort of Multān	401	„
9.	Fort of Nandūna (borders of Lāhore)	404	„
10.	Thānēsar	405	„
11.	Fort of Lōhkōt (borders of Kashmīr)	406	„
12.	Meerut and Kannauj	409	„
13.	Mathrā	410	„
14.	Lāhore, Kirāt and Narain ..	412	„
15.	Forts of Kālinjar and Gwalior	413	„
16.	Sōmnāth	416	„
17.	Naharwāla (expedition against Jats)	418	

¹ This list has been prepared by a reference to Baihaqī, foll. 57b-62a; Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, pp. 29-37 and 42-59; Zain ul Akhbār by Gurdīzī, pp. 63-88; 'Utbi, p. 154 and the following; Farishtah, vol. I, pp. 24-35; and The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna by Dr. Nāzim, pp. 86-122.

The Caliph of Baghdād, al Qādir billāh ‘Abbāsī, His titles:— had conferred upon Maḥmūd, 1. Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul through the efforts and personal Mūminīn. recommendations of Imām Abū Mansūr Ṣa‘ālībī of Nishāpūr, who was specially deputed on this mission to Baghdād, the title of: *امیر المومنین* *Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul Mūminīn* in recognition of Maḥmūd’s brilliant victories and services to Islām in India. But Maḥmūd’s literary wit could not tolerate the word *ولی*, which, in common Arabic speech and address, was used for a *friend* as well as a *slave*. He, therefore, decided to have it changed for *الی*, by sending rich gifts with 100,000 *dinārs*, through his emissary at Baghdād, to the Caliph, by way of present, with a view to securing from him one *alif* more to the original title, to remove the stigma which the word *ولی* carried with it. The Caliph understood the real significance of Maḥmūd’s anxiety, and praised him for his great learning and sagacity, and acceded to his request.¹

¹ Cf.—

و اورا در منشور خلافة نوشتند سلطان یمین الدولة ولی امیر المومنین و کلمه ولی در لقب عام بمعنی صدیق و مملوک باشد پس سلطان ازین مظانّه خواست که آنها با یزاد الفی مبدل گرداند فی الحال امیر سفارت امام ابو منصور ثعالی را که هرسم وکالت بغداد فرستاده بود نوشت و مکتوبه مختم با تکاتف و صد هزار دینار برای نذر خلیفه بدست قاضی محمد بن شیخ رفیع الدین فقیه رول کرد — چون رسول سلطان باین منوال بهارگاه خلافة

In addition to this, *nine* more titles were conferred upon him as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. 'Aẓd ud Daulah wa Muayyid ul Millah, | 1. 'Aẓd ud Daulah wa Mua'yyid ul Millah |
| 3. Shihāb ud Daulah wad Dīn, | 2. Shihāb ud Daulah wad Dīn |
| 4. Amīn ul Millah | 3. Amīn ul Millah |
| 5. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn, | 4. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn |
| 6. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām, | 5. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām |
| 7. Amīr ul Muslimīn, | 6. Amīr ul Muslimīn |
| 8. Jamāl ul Millah, | 7. Jamāl ul Millah |
| 9. Abul Ghāzī, | 8. Abul Ghāzī al Mujāhid fī Sabilillāh |
| 10. Muḥī ul Islām. | 9. Muḥī ul Islām |

All these titles were freely and spontaneously showered upon him by the people and the neigh-

رسید و تکاتف و مکتوب منیع سلطان را بحضور خلیفه القادر بالله عباسی گذرانید امام زبان شفاعت برکشاد که محمود که مدت سی سال عمر عزیز را در حرب کفار و دوشن کردن شمع دین مبین در بلاد و امصار هند که تیغ و تار بود صرف نموده عوض صد دینار یک الف التقاتی می خواهد و عظیم حق دارد - خلیفه با اعیان مشارکت کرد و از مظنه سلطان خبردار شده علم و فضل وزیر کی اودا بستود و سپس بالقاب والی و سلطان امثله نوشتند -

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 47).

Also, cf. Daulatshāh, p. 19:—

خلیفه از کمال فضل و کیاست سلطان تعجب کرد الخ

bouring Muslim States, including the Caliphate, after his great feat at Sōmnāth in entering the temple and breaking the idol, which symbolised his mission of carrying the name of Allāh in the heathen land and planting there the Islāmic formula :

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no god, but Allāh; and Muḥammad is
His Apostle.

The storming of Sōmnāth was a great event in history, and was hailed throughout the Muslim world as the triumph of Islām over idolatry. The temple inside the fort was not only held as a sacred place of worship by the Hindūs in Western India, but it was an important centre of Hindū religion and national spirit. The idol *Nāth* or *Manāt* was supposed to give guidance and inspiration to its countless devotees as their patron *god*. The news of Maḥmūd's expedition to Sōmnāth had brought all the neighbouring Rājās together to defend, with all their might, the sacred temple against desecration at the hands of the invaders. When the Sultān led his attack, he had to face the bitterest opposition of the bravest army of the Rājās and the bands of devout worshippers of the image, whose zeal to fight in defence of their god, religion and honour was not less than that of the Muslim *Mujāhids* who had collected there

under the banner of Islām. The two armies met with unshaken faith, the one in Allāh and the other in the idol, with the result that victory fell to the arms of the servants of Allāh on Friday, 15th Ṣulqa'dah, 416 A. H., and the forces of the enemy were routed by the heroic action of Muslim cavalry under superior generalship.

The walls of the fort were then scaled, and a public proclamation of Muslim victory was made by trumpets and call to Friday prayer by Muslim victory by trumpets and call to prayer; Counter-attacks by the Hindūs and the Muslims. *Mu'azzins* from above the parapets of the fort. But the Hindūs, though they apparently had suffered defeat and fled in disorder, abandoning their posts, rallied soon after under their generals, determined to recapture the lost positions and to oust the Muslims from the fort. When the entire army of the Sultān, having just finished their prayers and thanksgivings to God, were at ease and enjoying the fruits of their hard-earned victory, the enemy suddenly reappeared and rushed the gates. Thousands laid themselves low before their deity and, invoking its benediction and aid, gave a fierce battle to the Muslims who could not stand the dash. Before sun-set, they were forced to surrender all strategic points, thus leaving the Hindūs undisputed masters of the situation.¹ The next

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 242.

morning the Muslims made a fresh rally and charged their opponents with stupendous energy and vigour with the result that the latter's morale was broken, and they continued to lose their ground until they were completely overpowered and put to flight, leaving their arms and their dead behind. Thus the fort was recaptured and finally came into full possession of the Muslims.

Before Maḥmūd laid his hand on the image, the Hindū Rājās and the devout worshippers had approached him with fervent appeals to spare their deity, and offered him one million *gold mohars* (1,000,000 *asbarfī*) as a consideration, a price which he was readily advised by his generalissimo to accept. But Maḥmūd's reply to them was that, if he did so he would be known throughout the Muslim world and for generations to come as *bet فروش* "idol-seller" which he disapproved, remarking that his ambition was to become and be known to the world as *bet شکن* "idol-breaker", to please his Allāh and the Holy Prophet.¹

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و در حقایق الصالحین آورده اند که هرگاه محمود قصد منات کرد سائر
 راجگان و برهمنان آن ابعاد و امصاف متناق شدند که ده اک دینار نثار فرق
 آنحضرت بکنیم و رافت نمودند که سلطان مرورا بگذارد و از بت شکنی به
 دلشکنی نگراید اما محمود را خوش نیفتاد و گفت نمی خواهم "بت فروش"

When the image was broken and its head was severed from the trunk, it was discovered to contain a hidden treasure in the shape of precious jewels, ornaments and a large stock of rare stones, which had been presented to the deity by the credulous public and the rich Hindū States from time immemorial. The gold furniture and other equipment of the temple, including a *takht* and about 100 smaller images of solid gold valued at 100,000,000 *dīnārs*, of which one-fifth (i.e. 20,000,000 *dīnārs*) was the Sultān's personal share.¹ Thus Providence gave him many times more than what the Rājās had promised to do.

Of the broken pieces of the image, one was sent with rich presents to Mecca, one to Baghdād, and others remained at Ghaznī to demonstrate to the world his might and to impress the Muslim countries favourably. The huge artistic gate of the temple was specially taken under escort to the capital seat, Ghaznī, with great pomp and ceremony, and was received on arrival by the representatives of the royal

بگردم و باین رسوائی نام من بماند مرا ملک بسیار و دولت کامگار مساعد است
جز رضای الهی و سرخوردنی پیش حضرت رسالت پناهی نمی جویم -

(Tazkira i Salātin i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 51).

¹ Rauzat uṣ Safā, p. 741.

house, the Qāẓīs, the civil and military officers of the Sultān and a vast crowd of the over-zealous public, including the 'Ulamā and the teachers of the educational institutions. On entering the city gate it was led in gorgeous procession, through the main streets, to the central mosque, and then put in the royal museum as a fine art exhibit.

The causes of Maḥmūd's leading an attack on Causes of the Sōmnāth, which was a most ar-
attack on Sōmnāth. duous and hazardous task, were mainly two. The first, which is commonly mentioned by the Persian chroniclers, was the king's own ambition to serve Islām, like the early Caliphs, to earn the benedictions of Allāh and the Holy Prophet; and a name and place for himself in the world besides. His court poets, in their long panegyric *qasīdās* have specially compared him in the conquest of territories with Alexander the Great.¹

¹ Cf. Farrukhī:—

فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیثِ اسکندر سخن نو آر که نو را حلا و نیست دگر

Cf. 'Asjadī:—

تا شاهِ خسروان سفرِ سومنات کرد کردارِ خویش را عَلمِ معجزات کرد
شاهانِ تو از سکندر پیشی بدان جهت که هر سفر که کرد بدیگر جهات کرد

Cf. Zīnatī:—

مگر عهدداری که همچو سکندر ملوکِ زمین را تو قدرت نمائی

The second cause, as emphasised by the 'Arab historians, was that the Hindūs held the idol of Sōmnāth as the *patron-god*, and dismissed Maḥmūd's Indian conquests and his destruction of smaller temples with the remark that Sōmnāth was displeased with them, otherwise Maḥmūd or any other mighty monarch on earth, who believed in Allāh, could not injure them. When this news was carried to Maḥmūd, he made a vow to destroy this patron god immediately,¹ to uphold for all times to come the doctrine of the Unity of God preached by Islām. He, therefore, marched from his Capital on this mission on Monday, 22nd *Sha'bān*, 416 A. H., with a small army which swelled with volunteers on its way to Multān, his first halt. When Maḥmūd arrived at Sōmnāth, he heard the Brahmins say the same thing that none from among the kings could lay his hand on the deity, and if any one would dare this insult, his entire house would be damned and his seed uprooted. Thrice cursed he must be. This talk was the general topic within the temple and outside it, among the worshippers and in the rank and file of the Hindū army. But Maḥmūd on his conquest of the fort was not deterred by any such predictions. He solemnly entered the temple and broke the idol, to demonstrate to the credulous multitudes the folly and falsity of their ways.

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 241.

This act of Mahmūd's infuriated the Hindūs still more, and they resolved on making his retreat difficult, if not impossible. Apart from several encounters which the Sultān had to face during his return journey home, the one most dangerous plot hatched against him was to see his army entrapped and destroyed in the waterless desert of Sindh. With this end in view a fanatic *jātrī*, who was known to be an experienced traveller, was made to offer his loyal services to Mahmūd as his chief guide. The unsuspecting Sultān readily gave his assent and, conferring upon him the customary *khiṭ'at*, admitted him to the royal presence. On the way he played false and, risking his own life, led the Sultān and his army by a tedious untrodden track, under the pretence of leading them by a shorter route, into the midst of a deep sandy desert in the hope that the whole army would be entrapped and die of thirst with its leader. But luckily Mahmūd got out of it safely and very few lives were lost.

This expedition took Mahmūd nearly eight months from the start to the finish, and supplied much food and material for the poets who sang of his praises at almost every step he advanced. Whenever the soldiers fought a battle, conquered a fort or overcame any real difficulties in their way, the poets

always made it a subject for their poems, extolling the heroic deeds of the warriors, which kept their spirits high. The conquest of Sōmnāth was perhaps the most important of all, for on this occasion not only did the poets in attendance write congratulatory poems, but even those who were far away from the scene wrote *qasā'id* in honour of the king, comparing him with the great ancient monarchs of Persia, like Jamshīd, Kai-Khusrau and Anūshīrwān. Several poets declared him to be superior to Alexander the Great in making conquests, and gave their own reasons for it. In this way the impetus given to Persian versification in India and the services rendered to it as a whole were very great and valuable. New channels of thought had to be found by poets who were competing with one another for supremacy, in the hope of rewards from the Sultān. Thus his Indian campaigns created a real and popular taste for epic and historical poems in contrast with the mere panegyric which had fallen into decay.

It also paved the way for Islām in Kāthiawār and Gujarāt. Many a devout worshipper from among the Hindū public and the intelligentsia, whose opinion carried weight with his community, embraced Islām, seceding from idol-worship. The Persian writers, both of the contemporary and the later periods, have attached greater importance to Maḥmūd's last two expeditions in the rapid propagation of Islām in Western India than to all the combined efforts of

missionaries and propagandists who had worked before him.

The one great factor in creating a general taste for the Persian language among the people of Hindūstān was the institution of *diwān* (correspondence department) founded by him, which achieved great popularity.

Mahmūd's correspondence department: a great factor in creating a taste for and in the spread of Persian language in upper Hindūstān.

It was an essential element in the administration of the empire, and was considered to be one of the main pillars of his power and kingly dignity in and outside India. It was more or less similar in its functions to the foreign department of a modern European power. It was manned by a governor, or secretary to the government, who was styled *ṣāhib diwān* and a sub-governor or *nāib diwān* with an elaborate and efficient staff of *dabīrs* (correspondence clerks). The duty of the latter was to make drafts in the Persian language, giving instructions on all matters of the administrative policy of the government to the various heads of the departments on the one hand; and to address *communiqués* to the foreign countries on the other. The importance attached to the post of *dabīr* was very great. He sometimes commanded more respect and favour from the Sultān than even a Minister. Only the learned who were efficient writers of Persian prose, having a good taste in poetry, were eligible

for the appointment. Thus the competition among the public for possessing a competent knowledge of the Persian language was very keen, since every one who had brains and ambition aspired to this post.

Lane-Poole's estimate of Mahmūd's character, literary taste, and disposition towards the vanquished is as follows:

Lane-Poole's estimate of Mahmūd's character, literary taste and disposition towards the vanquished.

Mahmūd was not cruel; he seldom indulged in wanton slaughter; and when a treaty of peace had been concluded, the rājā and his friends were set free.¹

Napoleon imported the choicest works of art from the countries he subdued to adorn his Paris, Mahmūd did better, he brought the artists and the poets themselves to illuminate his court. From the cities of the Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurāsān, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters, and compelled them not unwillingly, to revolve round his sun like planets in his firmament of glory. The ruin of the Samānīd dynasty, who had been noble fosterers of Persian literature, left many scholars unprovided, and these came eagerly to the

¹ Mediaeval India, p. 19.

new home of learning.¹

The great Nizām 'ul Mulk, famous vazīr of the Saljūq kings, writes in his *Siyāsat Nizām ul Mulk's* view of Mahmūd. *Nāmah* that Mahmūd was a great lover and patron of learning, and was a devout, magnanimous and just emperor, the like of whom was hard to find in the Islāmic world.

Maḥmūd, in fact, was not only a patron of Muslim lore, but himself possessed a fine literary and poetic taste. Some specimens of his poetical composition in Persian are still preserved in history, which go to prove that he was a poet of a high order. The following three verses from his elegy, which he wrote on the death of one of his *harem*, named "Gulistān" whom he dearly loved, are quoted by 'Aufī:

۲ تا تو ای ماه زیر خاک شدی خاک را بر سپهر فضل آمد
 دل جزع کرد گفتم ای دل صبر این قضا از خدای عدل آمد
 آدم از خاک بود و خاکی شد هر که زو زاد با زامل آمد

Another instance of his Persian poetry is the following, which he had written a few days before his death:

۳ ز بیم تیغِ جهانگیر و گرزِ قلعه کشای
 جهان مستخر من شد چو تن مستخر رای

¹ Ibid. p. 30.

² Lubāb, vol. I, p. 24.

³ Ibid. p. 25; also see Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 19.

گهے بعز و بدولت همی نشستم شاد
 گهے ز حرص همی رفتے ز جای بجای
 بسے تفاخر کرد که من کسے هستم
 کنوں برابر بینم همی امیر و گدای
 اگر دو کله پوسیده بر کشی زد و گور
 سر امیر که داند ز کله کرای
 هزار قلعه کشادم بیک اشارت دست
 بسے مصاف شکستم بیک نشودن پای
 چو مرگ ناختن آورد هیچ سود نکرد
 بقا بقای خداست و ملک ملکِ خدای

His poetic insight and patronage of Persian verse could be judged from the fact that he had rewarded Ghazā'irī with *seven thousand gold mohars* in appreciation of only *two* verses of a *qasīdah* in which the poet had very beautifully used the figure استغراق (hyperbole) and raised its level considerably. The verses referred to are quoted below together with the opening lines written in نغزیه (self-exaltation), which is an equally important figure of speech in Persian poetry, and has been very popular with poets:

¹ اگر مراد بجایه اندر است و جایه بال مرا بین که بینی جمال را بکمال
 من آن کسم که بمن تابکشر نغز کند هر آنکه بر سر یک بیت بر نویسد فال

Note :—Daulatshāh attributes this *qit'ā* to Sultān Sanjar, and quotes only three verses with slight variations (pp. 34-5).

¹ Daulatshāh, p. 19.

صواب کرد که پیدا نکرد هر دو جهان یگانه آیزد دا دار بے نظیر و همال
وگر نه هر دو ببخشیدے او بروز عطا امید بنده نمائے با یزد متعال

The *qasīdah* written by Farrukhī, mourning Mahmūd's loss to the Empire and Farrukhī's elegiac poem on Mahmūd's death. its capital city, Ghaznī, is most remarkable in the history of Persian elegiac composition. Some lines are reproduced as follows :

¹شهر غزنیں نہ همانست کہ من دیدم یار
چہ فتاد ست کہ امروز دگرگوں شد کار
کوچہا بینم پر شورش و سر تا سر کوی
ہمہ پر جوشن و جوشن درو پر خیل و سوار
مہتراں بینم بر روی زنان ہنچو زنان
چشمہا کردہ ز خوں نا بہ برنگ گلزار
ملک امسال د گر باز نیامد ز غزا
دشمنی روی نہادست دریں شهر و دیار
سیر می خورده مگر دی کہ بخفته است امروز
دیو تر خاست مگر رنج رسیدہش ز خسار
خیز شاہا کہ رسولان شہاں آمدہ اند
ہدیہ ہا دارند آوردہ فراوان و نثار
کہ تواند کہ بر انگیزد ازین خواب ترا
خفتنی خفتنی کز خراب نکردی بیدار

¹ *Dīwān i Farrukhī.*

به حصار از نزع و بیم تو رفتند شها
 تو شها از نزع و بیم که رفتی به حصار
 شعرا را به تو بازار بر افروخته بود
 رفتی و با تو بیکباره برنت آن بازار

The Sultān's love for Ayāz, his favourite Tur-
 Sultān's love for komān slave, who was known
 Ayāz. by the title of *Abun Najm*, is a
 mysterious fact of history. The poet Farrukhī in
 a *qasīdah* describes Ayāz as a man of no great
 personal beauty or charm, remarking that the
 Sultān's regard for him was more for his devotional
 service and refined manners than for his physical
 attraction. Nizami 'Arūzī Samarqandī also writes
 to the same effect as follows:—

¹ عشقه که سلطان یمین الدوله محمود را بر ایاز ترک بوده است معروف
 است و مشهور - آورده اند که سخت نیکو صورت نبود لیکن سبز چهره
 شیرین بوده است متناسب اعضاء و خوش حرکت و خرد مند و آهسته و
 آداب مخلوق پرستی او را عظیم دست داده بوده است و دواں بازه از
 نادران زمانه خویش بوده است - و این همه اوصاف آن است که عشق
 را بهت کند و دوستی را برقرار دارد و سلطان یمین الدوله محمود مرده
 دیندار و متقی بود با عشق ایاز بسیار کشتی گرفته تا از شارع شرع و منهاج
 حریت قدمی عدول نه کرد -

The love which Sultān Yamīnuddaulah Mahmūd

¹ Chahār Maqālah, pp. 43-46.

bore towards his slave, Ayāz, is commonly known and famous. It is related that he was not very handsome in appearance, but had a tender and sweet countenance, symmetrical body and pleasing manners; and was intelligent, mild and gifted with a magnificent share of creature-worship. And in this virtue, he was a rare example in his day. And all these virtues are such as beget love, and make friendship stable. And Sultān Maḥmūd was a God-fearing and pious man, and struggled hard with his love for Ayāz, with the result that he did not go one step beyond the path of religion and the way of chivalry.

This simple affair, being extraordinary in its character as subsisting between a mighty monarch like Maḥmūd and his slave, soon caught the imagination of the contemporary poets who wrote on the subject with poetical fulness, until it became a real romance in history and a permanent topic of interest for all succeeding poets seeking for a popular theme for their metrical compositions.

Maḥmūd's scholarly disposition and love for letters are too well known in history. The Royal Museum and the Academy that he had founded at Ghaznī are counted among the rarities of the period and speak for themselves. The latter possessed a

large and valuable collection of books on Arabian, Greek and Indian sciences and arts. Whenever a city was sacked or conquered, its libraries were left intact under special orders of Maḥmūd, and removed to the Capital city under escort to enrich the Royal Academy.¹ Again, his love for the society of scholars and poets is clear from the fact that he had invited the most eminent of them from all parts of the Empire and other independent Central Asian States to come to his court. Al Bīrūnī, the famous scientist, was one of them. Also, it is said as many as *four hundred* poets travelled with him to every corner of the empire on whom he spent *eighty lacs* of rupees yearly in the shape of fixed allowances.² In addition to this, he had settled permanent *jāgīrs* on the Qāzīs, Imāms, Traditionalists and poets, and built numerous colleges and hostels for the education and residence of scholars. His sporadic rewards to the poets and the learned amounted to several *lacs* annually, which he paid from his private purse. As a scholar he is the author of a standard work entitled *Tafrīd ul Furū‘* (تفرید الفروع) on Muslim Jurisprudence. Another book he wrote on *مِلّات* (giving rewards) in praise of which the famous poet ‘Asjadī observed:—

بر دادنِ مِلّاتِ کتابِ بگردِ شاه چونانکه بر حنیفه کتابِ ملوّه کرد

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, Vol. IX, p. 262.

² Tazkira i Salātin i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 43.

On giving rewards the Shāh wrote a book,
Just as Imām Abū Hanīfah did write one on
Prayer.

In short, Maḥmūd is a most conspicuous figure among the eastern monarchs who patronized and loved Persian art and culture. His greatest service is that he advanced the claim of Persian literature in India to rank as a national literature.

Section II—Literary taste in the Age of Mahmūd's successors

Mahmūd's poetic taste, which came up to the standard of Persian taste, continued among his descendants as well, who, after his death, succeeded to the throne of Hindūstān. This may be seen in the elegy which his son, Sultān Muḥammad, wrote on his father's death. In form and matter it is perfect and represents all the essentials of elegiac poetry. The opening lines are as follows:—

ای حالِ دلِ خستہ مشوہ ہے تو عیشِ خوشِ من شدست ناخوش ہے تو¹
 تو رفتہ و آمدہ مرا ہے تو جاں تو در تہِ خاک و من در آتش ہے تو

Among his successors, the reign of his grandson, Sultān Zahīruddīn Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd, was conspicuous in history, since he had Abul Faraj Rūnī as his court-poet, who had no equal in Khurāsān, whom contemporary Persia recognised as the leading poet of the day. Zahīruddīn's ministers also were scholars of renown, like Abū Sahl Khujandī, Khwājah Mas'ūd Chachī and 'Abdul Hamīd Aḥmad. The last-named was a great administrator and a poet besides, in whose praise Abul Faraj Rūnī wrote a *qasīdah* of which the opening line runs thus:—

¹ Bayāz i Mīrzā Asad Bēg, Mss., fol. 67a.

¹ ترتیب ملک و قاعدہ جود و رسم داد عبدالکبیر احد عبدالصدق نهاد

Abul Faraj Rūnī's birth-place was a small town

The famous poet named Rūn or Rūyan in the neighbourhood of Lāhore, of an Indian.

which mention is made in the biographical works and in Persian dictionaries. Mullā 'Abdu'l Rashīd Tattawī writes thus:—

¹ دون بالضم در فرهنگ نام قصبه ایست در هند که مولد ابوالفرج است -

Rūn with the vowel sign (ما) in Persian lexicon is the name of a town in India, which was the birthplace of Abul Faraj.

'Aufī says:—

² ابوالفرج بن مسعود الرونی 'مولد و منشأ او خطه لوهور بود -

Abul Faraj bin Mas'ūd of Rūn:—His place of birth and where he grew up was the district of Lāhore.

Badāūnī remarks:—

³ استاد ابوالفرج روینی هم مداح سلطان ابراهیم بود و هم مداح سلطان مسعود و قصائد بسیار بنام ایشان در دیوان اوست و روین نام دیهی است از توابع لاهور و درین روزگار گویا خراب است که اثری از دی باقی نمانده است -

¹ Farhang i Rashīdī.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 241.

³ Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 37.

Ustād Abul Faraj Rūyanī was the eulogiser of Sultān Ibrāhīm as well as of Sultān Mas'ūd. And he has many a *qasīdah* in his *dīwān* in their praise; and Rūyan is the name of a village within the jurisdiction of Lāhore, and in this age, so to say, it is in ruins, so that no trace of it survives.

The same view is held by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, author of the *Haft Iqlīm*, and Mirzā Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, a modern Persian writer.

As against these, the Persian biographers unhesitatingly declared that Abul Faraj was a Persian, just as they did in the case of Mas'ūd, obviously to save Persia from the ignominy of accepting an Indian as the leading figure in his day in the art of Persian composition. Their resentment was, perhaps, further aggravated when some responsible critics and judges of Persian poetry thought that Anwārī, the renowned poet of Persia, imitated Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought.

The views of the Persian writers with regard to Abul Faraj's nativity are as follows. Thus writes Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

ساختگونیست شیرین زبان و نصیحتی نیکو بیان املش از دونه و آن
نام قریه ایست از نشاپور.....چندی ابوالفرج در لاهور زیسته باز برگزیده
سلطان پیوست لهذا برخی او را لاهوری دانند -

¹ Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 70.

He is a poet with sweet tongue and great eloquence. His origin is from Rūnah, and this is the name of a village in Nīshāpūr. For sometime Abul Faraj lived in Lāhore, but went back to wait on the stirrups of the Sultān. Consequently some people know him as belonging to Lāhore.

Lutf'Ali Bēg Āzar says:—

۱ ابوالفرج از شعرای جلیل‌الشان و از فصحای عذب‌البیان است و اکثر
شعرا باستانی او اعتراف کرده اند... اصل وی از قصه دونه من متعال
دشت خاوران است -

Abul Faraj is from among the poets of high rank and the most eloquent of them. Many poets have acknowledged him to be a master. His origin is from the village Rūnah which is situated in the district of the desert of Khāwarān.

The same view is held by Hamdullah Mustaufi, author of the *Tārikh i Guzidah*, and other responsible writers. The truth of the matter is that in Abul Faraj of the Punjāb we have a genius who gave a fresh turn to Persian poetry as he found it. The great masters of Persia and India have recognised Abul Faraj's imaginative power and style. Mas'ūd Sa'd

¹ Ātashkadah, p. ۱۳۷.

Salmān, Anwārī, Faizī, 'Urfī, Masīh Ruknā i Kāshī, Sā'ib and Tālib Āmulī, not only mention his name in their works with respect, but even imitate him in their *qasā'id*. Mas'ūd addresses him in a *qasīdah* as his *master* with a high sense of pride. The chief line is quoted below:—

نَازِمِ بَدَانَكِه هَسْتَم شَاگَرِدِ تُو شَادَمِ بَدَانَكِه هَسْتِی اَسْتَاَدِ مَنِ

I pride myself on this that I am thy pupil,
I am happy over it that thou art my master.

This points further to the fact that Abul Faraj was a predecessor of Mas'ūd.

Anwārī declares his passionate love for Abul Faraj's poetry in the following complimentary verse:—

بَادِ مَعْلُومَشِ كِه مَنِ بِنْدِه بِشَعْرِ بُوَالَدِجِ تَا بَدِیدَسْتَم وَلُوعِی دَاشْتَسْتَم بِسِ تَمَامِ

He may know that I am a slave to his poetry,
Since I saw it I became all the more avid of it.

Again, he compares Abul Faraj with Farrukhī, one of the few bright gems of Sultān Mahmūd's court:—

دَر عَذُوبَتِ نَظْمِ اَقْبَالَتِ چُو نَظْمِ فَرُخِی -

In sweetness thy fortunate poetry is like that of
Farrukhī.

¹ *Dīwān* i Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān.

² *Dīwān* i Ustād Abul Faraj Rūnī.

³ *Ibid*.

He further declares his resolve to imitate Abul Faraj's poetry, and compares it with a bird which it is not easy to ensnare:—

عزم دارم کں پروزے چند بنویسم کہ نیست¹
شعر او مرغی کہ آسان اندرون افتد بدام

Faizī also acknowledges him as his superior and guide, as is evident from the following verse:—

ذوقی کہ توان گرفت از شعر از شعر ابوالفرج گرفتم²

The taste (benefit) that could be derived from
poetry,

I drew from that of Abul Faraj.

Faizī, as is well known, occupies such an important place among the poets of Akbar's time that even the best poets of contemporary Persia have seen in him a master mind. 'Urfī too, who looked upon himself as the greatest poet of the day, recognises in a *qasīdah*, which he wrote in praise of the *Khān i Khānān*, his indebtedness to Abul Faraj and Anwarī,³ boastfully declaring them to be the pioneers in that field, and himself only a follower of their style and metre. The significant lines are as follows:—

¹ Ibid.

² A. History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, vol. III, p. 63.

³ It is to be noted that Anwarī himself followed Abul Faraj, and was proud of it.

۱ انصاف بده بوالفرج و انوری امروز بهر چه غنیمت نشمارند عدم را
 بسم الله ز اعجاز نفس جان ده شاں باز تا من قلم اندازم و گیرند قلم را
 اول ده این نظم خود ایشان بسپر دند پس باز نمودیم بهم منزل هم را

Give justice, Abul Faraj and Anwarī today,
 Why should they not be content with their non-
 existence?

In the name of God, bring them to life once more
 by thy miraculous breath,
 So that I may lay down the pen, and they may
 take it up again;
 The path of this poetry was first traversed by
 them,

Thereafter we all trod in the same path.

This is indeed a great tribute which 'Urfī paid to the memory of Abul Faraj. The famous poet Zākī of Kāshghar also recognised Abul Faraj's greatness, since Taqī Auhādī records that Zākī sent to Abul Faraj, through a special messenger, the following laudatory verse in appreciation of his poetical powers, styling him as *Sāheb Qirān* (Lord of the two Ages) of Persian poetry:—

صاحبقرانِ عالم گانی توئی که هست گلزار وار خلد نمودار شعر تو

Thou art the *Sāheb Qirān* of the world: thy pre-
 sence is enough, since it is a fact

¹ *Diwān* i 'Urfī.

That thy verses appear like the garden of Paradise.

To this an appropriate reply was given by Abul Faraj in the form of a *qit'a*, beginning with the following verse:

سلطانِ نظم و نثر ذکی آنکه در جهان داد سخن بدانِ بعبارِ شعرِ خویش

The king of poetry and prose, Zakī, who, in the world,

Did justice to poetical composition by his efficient verses.

Abul Faraj's poetical virtues have evoked the greatest admiration from the leading poets of Persia. Anwarī, himself one of the *three* acknowledged apostles of Persian poetry and a creator of new forms of style, not only appreciated Abul Faraj's composition, but also imitated it in subject, thought and style. So greatly fond of Abul Faraj's poetry was Anwarī that he always kept his predecessor's *dīwān* with himself to serve as a guide and model for his own compositions.¹ Again, Āzar and Rīza Qulī

¹ Cf:—

و انوری پیوسته تتبع سخن او کرده و دیوان او هواره در نظر داشته و
در آن قصیده که گفته است مطلع :-

و یحک ای صورتِ منصوره باغِ نه سرائی بل بهشتی که بدنهای فرستاد خدای -
یک بیت تمام بعینه از شعر ابوالفرج بیا ورده است بے توضیح - اگر توارد

Khān Hidāyet, the well-known biographical writers of later Persia, pay Abul Faraj a glowing tribute, recognising him as a great master of the art and a peer of the most gifted and eloquent poets of Persia and mistake him for a Persian. This point is worthy of special notice, since the learned critics, whose apathy for poets of Indian origin is well-known, see in Abul Faraj a classical poet, and fully corroborate 'Aufī's statement that Anwarī, the leading *qasīda*-writer of Persia followed Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought¹. This fact alone is a refutation of the

خاطر ست بغایت نادر ست و در آن قطعه که گفته است قطعه -

اندر آن مجلس که من داعی بشعر بوالفرج

تا شاید ستم و لوعی داشتستم بس تمام -

دلیل است که او پیوسته در بوستان دیوان ابوالفرج نعرج کرده -

(Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 241)

NOTE:—The first hemistich of the opening verse of the "qasīdah", quoted in the above extract, has a typographical error. The correct reading is as follows:—

و یحک ای صورتِ منصوریه باغی و سرای

¹ Cf:—و شاهدِ اُستادی او همین بس است که حکیم انوری متنبیع

طریقۀ او بوده و گاهی تفسیرِ مضارع اومی کرده -

(Ātashkadah, p. 137)

Also Cf. Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

در شاعری الحق طرزِ خوشی دارد حکیم انوری متنبیع طرزِ اوست -

(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 70)

views held by some Western critics that the Indians writing in Persian, in spite of their linguistic attainments, could not equal Persian poets in imagination and style. Abul Faraj's poetry completely dispels this false notion. It is a matter of pride for India that Lāhore produced a poet whom Anwarī imitated. But there is nothing strange about it when we recollect how the entire territory from the Punjāb to Persia was one complete region dominated by Persian culture in the wake of the conquests of Maḥmūd. In fact, during the regime of the Ghaznavīds all local and geographical distinction between Ghaznī and Lāhore had disappeared. This continuity of cultural unity was not broken after the cessation of the Ghaznavīd rule, but remained intact till the end of the Mughal sovereignty in India. During this time the centre of Persian poetry and learning shifted *thrice* from Irān to India, first, during the Ghaznavīd,¹ secondly, during the Khiljī² and thirdly, during the

¹ Cf. the royal courts of Ghaznī and Lāhore, which became the chief seats of Persian culture, where almost all the leading poets and scholars of Persia had assembled under the liberal patronage of Sultān Maḥmūd and his sons. The former is reputed to have had 400 select poets always in attendance on him during his stay and campaigns in India (*Daulatshāh*, p. 24). There were, thus, hardly any distinguished men of letters left behind who did not attend on the king.

² Cf:—

و در تمامی عصر علائی در دارالملکِ دہلی علمائے ہند کہ آنچنان استادان
کہ ہر یکے علامتِ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و

Mughal reign.¹ One of the main reasons why India

دَمَشَق و تَبْرِيز و صَفَاهَان و دِي و رُوم و دَر دِیَعِ مَسْکُونِ نَبَاشَد -

(Barnī, p. 352)

And in the whole reign of 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī there were men of letters in the capital city of Delhi, every one of whom was a great exponent of learning and a perfect master of the age, the like of whom were not to be found in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Baghdād Egypt, Khwārazm, Damascus, Tabriz, Isfahān, Rai, Rūm and the habitable quarter of the globe.

Also Cf:—

اگر مَقْتی طَمَطَرَاتِ اُوسْتَاذِی بِرِ سَرِ کُودِۀِ اَز خُرَاسَان و مَورِدِ اَنهَر و خَوَارِزْم
و یَا اَز شَهرِۀِ دِیْکَرِ دَر دَهلِی بِرِ سَیدِۀِ و کَمَالَتِ عِلْمِ بزرگانِ مَکُورِ رَا مِشَاهِدِۀِ
کُودِۀِ سَبَقِ دَرِستِ گِرَفْتِۀِ و بَہ تَلَمُذِ پِیشِ اِیشَانِ بَزَانُویِ آدَبِ دَرِ آمَدِۀِ -

(Ibid, pp. 354-55)

If any learned scholar with the pride of mastery in his head reached Delhi from Khurāsān, Trans-Caspian Province, Khwārazm or from any other city, and witnessed the perfections of learning of these great Doctors, he would take lessons from them, and bend his knee in reverence before them as their pupil.

This age may also boast of having poets like Khawājah Hasan of Delhi and, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who had no equal in Persia in his day in the realm of Persian poetical composition. Barnī says that a perfect master of both prose and poetry, like Khusrau, never appeared before, nor is expected to appear in future. Cf. his statement:—

و هَم دَر عَصْرِ عَلَائی شَعْرَانِۀِ بُوَدَنَدِ کِه بَعْدِ اَز اِیشَانِ بَلَاکِۀِ پِیشِ اَز اِیشَانِ
چَشمِ رُوزگارِ مِثْلِ اِیشَانِ نَدِیدِۀِ اَسْتَ لَا سِیْمَا اَمِیرِ خُسْرُو کِه خُسْرُو شَاعِرِ اَلَمِ

could equal Persia in the early and the middle ages of

سلف و خلف بوده است و..... نظیر خود نداشت و... در سلف نبود و
در خلف تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید -

(Ibid, p. 359)

¹ Cf. the statement of Sā'ib, who was appointed *poet-laureate* of Persia after his retirement from the service of Shāh-jahān in India, that he considered the Indian poetical atmosphere definitely superior to that of Persia in the following clear and unmistakable language:—

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال
تا نیامد سوی هندوستان چنا رنگین نشد

There is not in the Persian land the requisite material for perfection in the poetic art,
Until *benā* (myrtle) came to India, it acquired no colour.

Also Cf. Kauṣārī, the court-poet of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, complaining of the dearth of real poetic appreciation in Persia, as compared with its more fortunate rival India which, he says, has become the asylum of Persian poetry in his day:—

شکایت کم توجهی اشل ایران بآرباب معانی

دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست	کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
نباشد از اکبر تا اراذل	کسے را دل بسوی شعر مائل
ببین کز بے خریداری دریں دور	چگونه شد بر آرباب سخن جور
در ایران تلخ گشته کلام جانم	باید شد سوی هندوستانم
هر آنم کو نثری ایلات خود را	شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را
که نبود در سخن دانان دوران	خریدار سخن جز خانکشان
سخن را قدر و مقدارے نمانده	معانی را خریدارے نمانده

Islāmic history is that hundreds of thousands of

بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار	ز بس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
که باشد جنس معنی را خریدار	که در ایراں کسی ناید پدیدار
بملک هند آزاں کردند ماوا	همه طوطی مذاقان شکر خا
منافع خود بهندستان فرستم	چو قطره جانبِ عمان فرستم
جہاں را همچو او آماده گنجے	سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنجے
که از دست سخایش بہرہ ور نیست	بہ عالم هیچکس ز اہل ہنر نیست

(B. M. Mss., Or. 342, fol. 11a)

Complaint against the inattention of the people of Irān towards the Possessors of meaning (poets):—

In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,

No one is eagerly busy in the mart of speech;

To speech value and weight remained not,

Nor for meaning any customer remained;

From the greatest to the humblest, there is not

Any one whose heart is inclined to verse;

So valueless and insignificant has speech become,

That today poetry and the profession of a poet are in disgrace;

See that owing to want of a mart in this age,

What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech!

In Persia no one appears

Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning;

In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,

Now ought I to go towards Hindūstān;

All the sugar-eating parrots

Have for this reason made their abode in India;

Kauṣārī, I am now determined that my verses,

Which are signs descended from the *ninth heaven*,

Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,

I should send my commodity to India;

That there is not among the learned of the age,

A customer of speech except the *Khān i Khānān*;

For discourse there is not a weigher of subtle points ex-

Persian families had come down to India in the pre-Islāmic era and settled in the land of the Punjāb. Thus long before the invasion of Maḥmūd, a cultural connection with linguistic affinity between India and Persia had been established with the result that the Punjāb assimilated the Persian speech and taste for poetry. A reference to this Persian emigration is to be found in Faḡluddīn Hiravī's statement, of which the source is the early 'Arab historian Shihābuddīn Yā qūtu'r Rūmī, that a big city near Lāhore was founded by the Persian exiles from Khurāsān during the reign of Afrāsiyāb.¹ It is mentioned by the author of the *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* and also by *Badā'ūnī* in connection with their accounts of the Ghaznavid king Ibrāhīm. It is recorded that the last-named once caused to be sent a hundred thousand Persians from this great city of the Punjāb to his capital Ghaznī,

cept he,
For the world there is none like him a ready treasure;
In the Universe there is none from among the possessors
of art
Who is not profited by his bountiful hand.

¹ Cf:—

و در اطرافِ لوهور آبادانی ست قدیم که مرد مانش همه از اهل
خراسان اند و فاضل علامه شهاب الدین ابو عبد الله یاقوت الرومی در معجم
اشارات بان کرده که آنان در عهدِ انر اسباب گریخته در هند اقامت گزیدند -

(*Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn*, Mss., p. 37)

to add to the latter's population and splendour.¹ The cultural value of this great Persian influx into India and the benefit that accrued from the long contact of Persian civilization in the sphere of her educational and linguistic effort is immense. It influenced and completely transformed the literary taste of her people so that there arose in succession in the Punjāb poets whose composition received tributes from Persia, and equalled those of the best Persian masters of art in all the requisite features. Abul Faraj left several works of which those extant are a treatise on Persian prosody, and a voluminous *dīwān* which he dedicated to his patron Sultān Ibrāhīm. The dedication begins with the verse:—

سپهرِ دولت و دین آفتابِ هفت اقلیم ابوالسفلر شاه مظفر ابراهیم

The sky of worldly fortune and religion, the
sun of the seven regions,
Abul Muzaffar, the victorious king Ibrāhīm.

His *dīwān* consists of *qasīdah*, *qit'ā*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *haju*, and was printed in Persia at the International Trading Socialist Press, in 1345 A. H.

¹ Cf:—

و از یک شهر که اهل آن از نسلِ خراسانیان بودند و آخر (افراسیاب)
ایشان را اخراج کرده و در هند آبادان شده بودند صد هزار کس را اسیر
ساخته به غزنین برد

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 35)

In a *qit'a*, he called Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān the *Keeper of the mansion of poetry*. The chief line, which is also the last line, runs thus:—

تا جهان است او نگهبان باد این بنا را که او نگهبان است¹

Till as long as the world exists, may he remain
the guardian
Of the structure of which he is already the guar-
dian.

Some of his *qasā'id* in praise of the royal house are magnificent, and have been imitated by, besides Anwārī, the leading poets of Persian language, like *Zahīr Fāryābī*, *Salmān Sāwajī*, *Urfī Shīrāzī* and others. His *ghazals* are melodious and sweet, and his *rubā'iyāt* chaste and attractive. About twenty years after *Ibrāhīm's* death, *Mu'izzudīn Bahrām Shāh*, aided by *Sultān Sa'id Sanjar* of *Khurāsān*, wrested the crown from his cousin, *Malik Arsalān*, in 511 A. H. He was a great patron of learning and a cherisher of art, and his reign was a period of development for Persian

¹ *Dīwān* i *Abul Faraj Rūnī*, p. 125.

NOTE:—In acknowledgement to this, Mas'ūd wrote an appropriate rejoinder, which is to be found in his *dīwān*. The first line is reproduced as follows:—

خاطرخواجه بوالفوج بدرست گوهر نثر و نظم را کن ست

The intellect of *Khawājah Abul Faraj* has rightly
Become a mine of the rubies of prose and poetry.

poetry. On his accession to the throne at Ghaznī, Sayyid Hasan, a learned divine and a preacher by profession, who is better known as a *Sūfī* than as a poet,¹ read a congratulatory *qasidah* in his praise, of

¹ Cf:—

سید حسن معلّو نسب و سَمو حسب موصوف و بهکارم اخلاق و مکاسب
 اوصاف معروف و در مکاتل فصاحت و بلاغت قدوّ عرفا و زبده ظرفا و در
 زهد و تقوی سر آمد روزگار و در ارشاد خلایق سر حلقه احرار بوده - گویند
 در غزنین روزی در مجلس وعظ ایشان قریب بهفتاد هزار کس در پای منبر
 جمع آمدند و چهار هزار از ایشان بشرف ارادت اختصاص داشتند این خبر
 را بهسلطان بهرام شاه رسا نیدند یک از ند مای خاص را دو شمشیر برهنه
 و یک غلاف داده بخدمت سید فرستاد که در غلاف کن سید مطلب را در
 یافته هم در آن زودی از غزنین عزیمت حرمین شریفین کرده -

(Ātashkadah, p. 107)

Sayyid Hasan was gifted with high lineage and lofty personal qualities, and was known for high morals and praise-worthy habits. And he was the leader of the possessors of the knowledge of God in the assemblies of eloquence and rhetoric, and was the head of those endowed with wit. And in piety and abstinence he was the pioneer of his age, and in guiding the public he was the central point of the ring of the free people. It is said that one day in Ghaznīn about 70,000 people gathered together at the foot of the pulpit, to listen to his sermon, of whom 4,000 became his disciples. This news was carried to the Sultān who sent one of his chief courtiers with *two* naked swords and *one* sheath to the Sayyid, with the message that he should put the two swords together in that sheath. The Sayyid, having understood its significance, soon resolved to go from Ghaznīn to the holy places (Mecca and Medīna).

which the opening verse proclaims his coronation

While so much is said about his lineage, piety and sermon, his poetic talent is judged in one simple phrase as follows :

و الحق در فنِ نظم کمال مهارت داشته

And verily he had perfect practice in the art of versification.

Also Cf. Daulatshāh:—

سید اشرف حسن الحسینی رحمه الله بزرگوار فاضل و دانشمند و اهل
دل بوده و قصیده نغزیه را می گوید و شعرا بعضی جواب آن گفته اند مثل
مجیر بیلقانی و کمال الدین اسعیل و شیخ آذری نیز گفته اما قبل از سید
حسن کسی مثل این قصیده نگفته است :-

داند جهان که قرة عینِ پیمبرام شایسته میوه دلِ زهرا و حیدرام

(p. 50)

Sayyid Ashraf Hasan al-Husainī was a learned sage and a wise and spiritual man. He has composed a *qasīdah* in self-praise, and some poets like Mujir Bilqānī, Kāmāluddīn Ismā'īl and Shaikh Āzarī have written rejoinders to it. Nevertheless, before Sayyid Hasan, none else wrote a *qasīdah* like that:—

The world knows that I am the comfort of the eye
of the Prophet,

I am a worthy fruit of the heart of *Zahrā* and *Hydar*.

In this connection Daulatshāh, on the authority of the *Tārīkh i Guzīdah* of Hamdullāh Mustaufī, refers to another poem of Hasan in praise of the Holy Prophet, in which the poet asked for a *Khil'at* which, it is asserted, was bestowed upon him in a concrete shape. Cf. the statement:—

و چون بزیارتِ مرتدِ مطهر^۲ حضرتِ سید المرسلین^۳ رسید ترجیع گفت
و التماس خلعت کرد :-

thus :—

۱ منادی بر آمد ز هفت آسمان که بهرام شاهست شاه جهان

یا رب این مائیم و این درگاه صدر انتساب
یا رب این مائیم و این خاک جناب مصطفی است
سلاموا یا قوم بل صلوا علی صدر الامین مصطفی ما جاء الا رحمة للعالمین
و در حسن الطالب این بیت فرموده :-

للفخر وندی نیارم زد و له در حضرتت مدحتی آوردم اینک خلعتی بیرون فرست
خواجہ حمد اللہ مستوفی در تاریخ گزیده می آورد که خلعت از روضہ
حضرت رسالت جہۃ سید بیرون آمد و بر صحت آن اطمینان می کند -

(Ibid)

The alleged view of the appearance of the *Khil'at* from the tomb of the Holy Prophet is a fantastic one, unless by the *Khil'at* is meant 'inward bliss' or 'consolation' which the poet felt on the completion and presentation of the said poem. His poetry consists chiefly of *تصانیف* - *رباعیات* and *قطعات*, and is limited in its character, scope and bulk. He has to his credit a small *diwān* containing about 5,000 verses all told. Cf. the statement:

دیوانش پنجہزار بیت است

(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 192)

He does not seem to have attempted *غزل* and *مثنوی*, of which no specimen verses are preserved in any of the biographical works under reference. Some of his *تصانیف* and *رباعیات*, in praise of Bahrām Shāh, Prince Khusrau, Abū Muhammad Tāhir (Prime Minister) and Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, are quoted in full in the *Lubāb* (vol. II, pp. 270-6), the *Majmū'a i Tazkār* (pp. 89-92) and the *Majma'ul Fusahā* (vol. I, pp. 192-6).

¹ *Tabaqāt*, p. 24.

A loud call came from the *seven skies*
That Bahrāmshāh is the Emperor of the world.

Again, he composed another *qasīdah* when he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and sent it to Sultān Ibrāhīm at Lāhore, in which he expressed his keenest desire to be in India at the Sultān's court. The lines of the poem bearing on the point are quoted below:—

خرم بود که باز بینم لقای شاه شکرانه درد و دیده کشم خاک پای شاه
بهرام شه که جان سلاطین نثار باد باشد که جان ایشان باشد فدای شاه
ناهند و پارس خطۀ اودرا مسلم است آیم به بوم هند و بیارم نئی شاه

How happy would I be to see again the face of
the king.

In thankfulness I would apply the collyrium of
the dust of his feet to both my eyes;

May the lives of many a king be sacrificed for the
king Bahrām,

May be that their lives serve as an offering to his
person;

Since the whole tract from India to Persia is
under his sway,

I come to the soil of India, and bring with me a
gift of his praise.

The well-known Sanskrit story, the *Kalilah-Damnab*, was again translated into Persian from the Arabic version of 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffa' by the

order of the king,¹ and became very popular in Persia.² Among the most notable poets of this period are Hakīm Sanā'ī, Mukhtārī and Minūchehrī.

Hakīm Sanā'ī, besides being a poet, was also a philosopher and a great Sūfī. Anwarī and Khāqānī revered him; even Rūmī, the greatest mystic poet of Persia, refers to him in these terms :

نیم جوش کرده ام من نیم خام از حکیم غزنوی بشنو تمام

I, the half-ripe, have got a half-boil,
From the sage of Ghaznī listen to what is perfectly ripe.

عطار روی بود سنائی دو چشم او ما از پی سنائی و عطار آمدیم

'Attār was a face, and Sanā'ī its two eyes,
I came in the wake of Sanā'ī and 'Attār.

¹ Cf:—

سلطان بهرام شاه بن مسعود بن ابراهیم پادشاه شد و حکیم سنائی مداح
او بود و کلیله دمنه و کتب بسیار در زمان او تصنیف شد -

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 39)

² This book was first translated into Pahlavī from the original Sanskrit text in the time of Naushīrwān the Great, but it did not gain much popularity, and was forgotten soon after its production. From this old Persian version a translation was later made into Arabic by 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffā', which survived, and from which subsequent Persian translations were made in the time of Sultān Naṣr bin Ahmad Sāmānī, Bahramshāh Ghaznavī and Sultān Husain Mīrzā of Herāt.

In his early career, Sanā'ī used to write odes in honour of the Ghaznavid kings, but he later gave up this kind of versification, and devoted his life to religious meditation and mystical writings.¹ His famous *maṣnawī*, *Ḥadiqat ul Ḥaqīqat*, popularly called *Ḥadiqah*, was written in Ibrāhīm's time and dedicated to him. The year of its completion in 525 A. H. is indicated by the concluding lines quoted below:—

شد تمام این کتاب در مِدی که در آذر فکند او را پی
پانصد و بیست و چار دفته ز عام پانصد و بیست و پنج گشته تمام

It is a masterly exposition of the Unity of God-head and the fundamentals of mysticism.² It was this *maṣnawī* which led some of his opponents at the court to bring a case of heresy against him, but the decision of the divines of Baghdād, to whom the matter was finally referred, was in his favour, and he was acquitted of the charge. The letter which Sanā'ī wrote to Ibrāhīm on his acquittal is fortunately preserved and is reproduced here to give the reader some idea of Sanā'ī's prose style. It further throws

¹ How this change, took place is stated to be as follows:—

One day Sanāī overheard a mystic pitying Ibrāhīm's lust for conquest and Sanā'ī's habit of flattering him with laudatory poems in complete forgetfulness of God's retribution on the day of Judgment. This incident brought about the great moral transformation here referred to. For further details see Daulatshāh p. 96, (Ed. by Browne)

light on the art of letter-writing and the religious thought of the time:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على خير خلقه محمد وآله واصحابه
اجمعين - اما بعد در آثار است که دو چیز در عمر افزایش و سبب باریدن
باران و رستن درختان بود یکی نصرت مظلومان و دیگر قهر ظالمان و حاجتی
که برین گفته اند آنست که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود که بالعدل
قامت السموات - عدل تمثال مرغیست که هر کجا سایه افکند آنجا توسعه
دولت شود و آنجا که خانه سازد قهله استدامت شود و باران از آسمان
بایستد و ظلم مرغیست که هر کجا بیرون تخطا سال شود و حیات و حیا از
میان خلق معدوم شود و حق سبکانه و تعالی سلطان اسلام و پادشاه عادل
بهرام شاه بن مسعود شاه بن ابراهیم شاه بن مسعود شاه بن مسعود شاه را
از ظلم و جور نگذارد و اگر چه همه عالم جمع شوند تا بضاعت و مایه
شناخت دل این بنده نویسند و بعبارت بپردازند و درختی که مالک
الملک آنرا نشاند در مشاهده اسرار غیب جبرئیل و میکائیل که از تصرف
کردن دران معزول بودند یقین است که در کل احوال عادل سعید است
و جانور شقی و بدترین ظلمه آنست که جماعتی اندک چیزه بخوانند و
فهم نکنند و دران مغرور شوند و زبان طعن در حق عالمان بدهند از نیجاست
که پیغمبر ما صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود ارحموا ثلثا غنیا افتقر و عزیز قوم ذل
و عالمایین الجاهل - کتابی که بزبان اهل معرفت گفته بود عارف بینا دل
باید چنانکه بپزید و شبلی که دران کتاب تصرف کنند و بدانند که دران چه
نوشته اما دانشمندان که بوی معرفت ندارند از سر حقد و نادانی بود که
دران کتاب طعنه زنند و دلیلی بر کور دلی ایشان آنست که می گویند آل

مروان را نکو هیده است و خاندان مصطفی را صلی الله علیه وسلم ستایش از حد برده و تفضیل امیرالمومنین علی کرم الله و چه بر دیگر صحابه رضی الله عنهم نهاده است و آن نمی بینند که او را فرود صدیق و فاروق و ذی النورین مرتبه نهاده است بر طریق سلف و خلف صالح و از سید کائنات محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه وسلم اخبار صحیح مرویست در مثالب آل مروان و مناقب آل محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه وسلم اگر دروغ است و کافه الناس بر این اند عقل داند که چنین است - و کلمه حق آنست که بار خدایا آراسته گردان عالم را بعالمای که از تو بترسند یا از خلق شرم دارند و ما را مبتلای بیگانهگان کوی قهر خود مگر دان بفضلک و جودک و کرمک یا ارحم الراحمین -

عرش گر بارگاه را زبید شاه بهرام شاه را زبید

Bahrām's patronage of letters is memorable in history¹ inasmuch as the foundation of philosophical and mystical poetry in Persian language was laid firmly in his time. Sanā'i himself claimed that after the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīṣ* it was his *Hadīqah* alone which

¹ Cf. Farishta's estimate of Bahrām's literary patronage and love of letters:—

او پادشاهی بود ذی شوکت و صاحبِ حشمت با علماء و فضلا بسیار
نشسته و صحبتِ ایشان را دوست داشته و هر کس را بقدر علمش رعایت
کرده لهذا فضلی آن روزگار به اسمِ شریفش کتب ساخته اند و تصنیفات
پرداخته -

dealt with the principles of mysticism.¹ This claim was accepted by the great mystics like 'Attār and Rūmī. Even Sa'di's didactic writings pale before Sanā'i's, because Sanā'i combines beauty of description with criticism of life. Witness Sanā'i's own assertion:—

کس نگفت این چنین سخن به جهان در کسے گفت گو بیار و بخوان
چوں ز قرآن گذشتی و اخبار نیست کس را بدین نطا گفتار²

No one composed such poetry in the world,
And if any one did, tell him to bring and recite
it;

When you stepped beyond the Qur'ān and the
Traditions,

In no one else you would find utterance like this.

Sanā'i had a special gift for expressing mystical ideas in a beautiful and impressive language. Take, for instance, his ode on the *transitoriness of the world*, which was a common topic of the day, and had been tried by so many poets before his time too, but his

¹ This is to be noted that the first person who introduced the Sūfic ideas in Persian poetry was Abū Sa'id Abul Khair. But his composition consists mainly of quatrains which do not expound the principles of Sūfism like the *Hadīqab* of Sanā'i, but expatiate on *love* only. Thus they may be said to be the outpourings of a lover to his beloved, seeking union.

² Note: Rūmī's *Maṣnawī* is said to be the *Qur'ān* in the Persian language, and occupies the first rank; while Sanā'i's *Hadīqab* is said to occupy a second rank, being placed after the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīṣ*.

treatment of it has a peculiar charm and is, perhaps, the last word on the subject:—

مکن در جسم و جان منزل که این دیون است و آن دالا
 قدم زین هر دو بیرون نه — نه اینجا باهی و نه آنجا
 بهر چه از راه باز آفتی چه کفر آن حرف چه ایسان
 بهر چه از دوست و امانی چه زشت آن نقش چه زیبا

The concluding portion, which is very touching, is particularly noteworthy:—

نخواهم لا جرم نعمت نه در دنیا نه در جنت
 همی گویم بهر ساعت چه در ضرا چه در سرا
 که یا رب مرسنائی را سنائی ده تو در حکمت
 چنان کزوی بر شک آید روان بو علی سینا
 مگر دامن عمر من چون گل که در طفلی شوم کشته
 مگر دامن حرص من چون مل که در پیری شوم برنا
 بهر چه از اولیا گفتند ارزانی و وقفی
 بهر چه از انبیا گفتند آ منّا و صدّ قنا

Another *qasīdah* on spirituality, reproduced below, is a marvellous composition, a parallel to which would be hard to find:—

برگِ بے برگی نداری . لافِ درویشی مزین
 رخ چو عیاران میارا جان چو نامردان مکن
 یا برو هسچو زنان رنگے و بوئے پیش گیر
 یا چو مردان اندر آ و گوی در میدان فکن

هر چه يا بی جز هوا آن دیں بود در جان بکار
 هر چه بینی جز خدا آن بت بود در هم شکن
 سر بر آرد از گلشن تحقیق تا در کوی دین
 کشتگان زنده بینی انجمن در انجمن
 در یک صف کشتگان بینی به تیغے چون حسین
 در دگر صف خستگان بینی ہزہرے چون حسن
 دردِ دین خود ہوا العجب دردِ یست گاندروی چو شمع
 چون شوی بیمار بہتر گردی از گردن زدن
 هر کسی از رنگ و رفتارے بایں رہ کے رسد
 درد باید صبر سوز و مرد باید گام زن
 تر نہا باید کہ تا یک کود کے از لطفِ طبع
 عاقلے کامل شود یا فاضلے صاحب سخن
 سالہا باید کہ تا یک سنگِ اصلی زانتاب
 لعل گردد در بدخشاں یا عقیق اندر یمن
 ماہ ہا باید کہ تا یک مشتمِ پشم از پشتِ میزش
 صوفی را خرقہ گردد یا حمارے را رسن
 ہفتہ ہا باید کہ تا یک پنہ دانه ز آب و گل
 شاددے را حلّہ گردد یا حمارے را رسن
 روز ہا باید کشیدن انتظار بے شمار
 تاکہ در جوفِ مدف باران شود درِ عدن
 صدق و اخلاص و درستی باید و عمر دراز
 تا قرین حق شود صاحبقرانے در قرن
 با دو قہلہ در رہِ توحید نتوان رفت راست
 یا رضای دوست باید یا ہوا ی خویشتن

دبی ز دلتنگی زمانے طوف کردم در چمن
 یک جهان جان دیدم آنجا خسته از زندان تن
 من دران صحرای خوش بادل همی گفتم چنین
 کاینست عقل افزای صحرای وینست جان پرور وطن
 باغ گفت از راه دیدی ای سنائی چون توئی
 بر چنین آواز و رنگ و بوی گردد مقتن
 شادباش ای مهتری کز بهر دفع چشم زخم
 خرته در بازو نقیر و بت بسوزد برهن

A very fine *qasīdah* in praise of the Holy Prophet runs as follows. It is remarkable for its originality and thought:—

ای سنائی گر همی از لطف حق جوئی سنا
 عقل را قربان کن اندر بارگاه مصطفیٰ

The bulk of his ethical poetry survives, and provides food for the *Sūfīs*.

He was a resident of Ghaznī, yet to him there was no difference between Ghaznī and Lāhore. His long stay in Indian surroundings had influenced his thought and style, and he often gave vent to Indian ideas, and made use of Hindi words and expressions in his Persian compositions, as is evident from the following verses:—

لنگهنت گر ترا کند فربه سیر خوردن ترا ز لنگهن به

نه دران معدۀ خدره میده نه دران دیده قطره پانی

He has several works to his credit. Of those which have survived to us, the most important, besides the *Hadīqah*, are his *maṣnawī Rumūẓ ul Anbiyā al-ma'rūf ba Kanẓ ul Auliya* and a *dīwān*. The first-named consists of 280 and the second over 30,000 verses. The works *Siyar ul 'Ibād*, *Rumūẓ ul Asfiyā*, *Tarīqat Nāmah* and the *Babrām Nāmah*, whose names occur in the early records with their authorship assigned to him, have not been traced. His death took place in 547 A. H.¹

¹NOTE:—There is much difference of opinion as to the date of his death. Taqī Auhadī places it in 545 A. H., Daulatshāh and Āzar in 576 A. H., and Jāmī in 525 A. H., which is the very year when the *Hadīqah* was completed.

CHAPTER IV

THE GHŌRĪ AND THE SLAVE KINGS

India produced a good many poets and prose-writers during the reign of the Ghōrī and the Slave kings, besides those who came away in their youth from the cities of Persia and entered the service of the emperors of Hindūstān. The poets and the authors reviewed in these pages are primarily those whose writings have contributed to an advance of Persian poetry and prose. The first Ghōrī king of Hindūstān was Mu'izzuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām surnamed *Shihābuddīn* who, with the help of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, subdued the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau Malik, in 580 A. H., and occupied Lāhore two years later in 582 A. H. Shihābuddīn conquered the whole of the Punjāb, and held his court at Delhi.

A distinguished writer and poet of this period

The poets of Shihābuddīn's court:
1. Ruknuddīn Hamzah, the *poet-laureate*, and
2. Rashīd Shihāb.
was Ruknuddīn Hamzah. He was the *poet-laureate* as well as the chief Secretary to Shihābuddīn's government. The letter which the king sent to Rājā Pithōrā of Ajmēr was drafted by him. Another figure Shihābuddīn *alias* Muhammad Rashīd, whose pen-name

was *Shihāb*, was born at Ghaznī but lived most of his life in India. He was a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, the famous Indian poet already cited. It is a pity that both his and *Hamza's* writings are not preserved in full; nevertheless, what is available gives one some idea of their respective powers of Persian composition and of their poetical talents. The remarks of the author of the *Tazkira i Salāṭin i Āl i Ghaznīn* about these two poets are worthy of notice. He says:—

۱ در دکن الدین حمزه را که از سر آمد، موز و نان و منشیان سحرگار بود خدمت نگاشتن نامه شکوف تفویض شد، والحق این خدمت را بشایستگی انجامید - مکتوب را بملاحظه سلطان گذرانیدند و از مهر و تولک مزین ساختند . . . و همدراں زمان امیر شهاب الدین علی که شهاب تخلص کرد و بسیار نغز گوی و بیک واسطه شاگرد مسعود سعد سلمان بوده بدار الخلافه مراجعت نمود -

And to Ruknuddīn *Hamzah*, who was one of the leading poets and marvellous writers of the age, was entrusted the duty of writing the momentous letter, and verily he accomplished this task well. They presented the letter to the king, and adorned it with the royal sign and seal. And at the same time Amīr Shihābuddīn 'Alī, who used *Shihāb* as his *nom de guerre* and was a very elegant poet and in a way

¹ Mss. pp. 89-90.

a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, returned to the capital.

Even the later Persian biographers and critics have recognised Shihāb's greatness as a poet, a fact which they attribute to the patronage and appreciation of Persian poetry by the Ghaznavīd kings.¹ 'Aufī mentions Shihāb under the poets of Ghaznī and Lāhore, and pays a glowing tribute to his poetic genius and wit, calling him a *king* among poets and a *moon* among stars.² His compositions consist chiefly of *qasīdah*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *qit'a*. Some specimens are given below:—

¹ Cf. Luṭf 'Alī Bēg Āzar:—

شهاب‌الدین و هو محمد رشید - مولد و موطن و مضجعش غزنین و
معاصر شیخ سنائی و دانش میدان نظم و نثر و مداح بهرام شاه بن مسعود و
خسرو شاه غزنوی و تربیت یافته آن سلاطین بوده -

(Ātashkadah, p. 118)

² Cf.—

اگر شعرای ممالک بیان پهلوانند او شاه بود و اگر فضلایر آسمان فضل
اخترانند او ماه بود شعر او سحر حلال و آب زلال را تعبیر کرده است و نظم
او عقد منظوم و در مثنوی را تنقیر کرده معانی دلفریب او روح را روح و
عقل را ذوق بخشیده و صفاء خاطر او کوثر را مکر خوانده -

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 276)

قصیده در ستایش بهرام شاه غزنوی

سپیده دم چو خطِ نور بر ظلام کشند
همی بر آید خورشید از ممالکِ شرق
چنان نماید اطرافِ لاجورد سپهر
ز آفتاب فلک زان سبب چنان گردد
ز پیش صبح چنان بر دم تو می گوئی
ستارگان را یک یک ز پشتِ لشکر ماه
بدستِ حام چو یابند سام را مظلوم
گهی ز ماه بر او نا چرخ و سپر سازند
ز عدل شاه همانا خبر نداشته اند
خدا یگانه خسرو که مرکبِ ظفرش
کمان دولت و بختش هنوز نیم کش است
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود
یمین دولتِ شاهی که خسروان جهان
بروز هیجا اقبال و فتح و نصرت و بخت
گهی یساق بگلگون و آبرشش برسد
زبان آنکه بملکش چو سوسن است دوسر
ز دشمنانش شب و روز آفتاب و بخار
چنان نمایش دارد بختنجرش خورشید
اگر بمشرق در یک نیام بیندش
زهی مظفر و منصور خسروی کاغذ لاک
ز انصاف و ز انصاف تو شگفتی نیست
سگن صید ترا چون قلاده نو باید
به نفعِ صور چو یحیی العظام بر خوانند

براقِ خسرو سیه‌اره در انجام کشند
چو خنجر یک بتدریجش از نیام کشند
که سوده شنجرفی بر رخ رخام کشند
که زر بخته که بر روی سیم خام کشند
که ز آشیانه عقیق همی لکام کشند
زدوی چرخ یثیک میان دام کشند
ز ایتسام صها انتقام سام کشند
گهی ز مهر بر او نغزه و حسام کشند
که صبح و شام ز یکدیگر انتقام کشند
بر زمکزه بر مسندِ انام کشند
جهان چو تیره شود راست گرتام کشند
که بار منتش از شکر خاص و عام کشند
بیادِ بزمش بر پای می زجام کشند
نجیب مرکبِ میمونش را انجام کشند
سیاه و خنکِ شب و روز اگر چه گام کشند
بنفشه وار ز سوی قفا زکام کشند
بجای فقله حیات از ده مسمام کشند
که از نیامش سر روز لعل نام کشند
بوقتِ صبح ندانند کز کدام کشند
غبارِ جیش تو در دیده ز احترام کشند
ذراتِ مقلب اگر چینه حمام کشند
ز یال شهر بروز شکار خام کشند
بمشرگاه در از رزم تو عظام کشند

مظفر ملکا در جہاں سپاہی کش کہ بر و بکر از آن کو کب از دحام کشند
 فلک فزون شود از لشکرت سپاہ زند زمیں کم آید اگر دامن خیام کشند
 چو هند و سندھ گزشتی مثال دہ بہ سپاہ کہ تا ز چین و یمن سوی مصر و شام کشند
 ز تیغ دست مکش نامجوی از آن بجہاں کہ پادشاہاں تیغ از برای نام کشند
 بر نیج نفس جہاں را فکن بہ آسایش کہ دنیج نفس ہلک اندرون کرام کشند
 برای ملک روا باشد از جہاد کنی برای گل سزد از مالش زکام کشند
 ہمیشہ تا بخرید و فروخت باشد نرخ کہ ہر چہ می شود آنرا دبا و وام کشند
 ہماں ہشاہی چندان بزی کہ مے سر کہ شود حلال بریں چیز کت حرام کشند

The following verses from one of his lyrics are
 Ghazal quoted by Āẓar. Their melody
 recalls Rūdakī and Sa'dī:—

۱ ابرے خوش است پردہ بر آفاق می کشد دل سوی ساقیان سمن ساق می کشد
 دستان مرغ پردہ عشاق می درد عزت گرفته دامن عشاق می کشد

Another specimen supplied by 'Aufī is as follows:—

۲ ز برگِ نسترنش چوں بگشاید سوزد ہزار عاشق دیدم کہ دست بر سر زد

He has further quoted two specimens of *qit'a*
 which were composed when
 Qit'a Bahrāmshāh sat for the operation
 of *fasd*³:—

¹ Ātashkadah, p. 118.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 281.

³ *Fasd* is the process of opening the artery in the right arm to let out the excess blood. This is generally done in Persia once a year in the spring season.

¹ملک بخوردنِ بادۂ چو مطربان بنشاند
 به گرفتنِ خوسِ قصد کرد و رگ زن خواند
 بجشکِ فرخِ فرخندهٔ مهارگِ بی
 بجویِ سیمِ درونِ شاخِ سرخِ بید نشانَد
 بنوکِ آهنِ پولادِ جویِ سیمِ بکند
 ز دستِ زرِ نشانِ ملکِ عقیقِ نشانَد

دیگر

²آمد آن کودکِ مسیحِ پرست نیشِ الماسِ گونِ گرفته بدست
 طشتِ زرینِ و آبدستانِ خواست بازویِ شهرِ یارِ عالمِ بست
 نهشِ بگریستِ گفتِ عزِ علیه اینچنینِ دستِ را که یارِ خست
 سرِ فرو بردِ بوسه دادِ برو وز سرِ نوکِ نیشِ خوسِ برجست

The following is an example of his *rubā'ī*, which
 he wrote to one of his friends
 Rubā'ī who had presented him with a
 bouquet of flowers consisting of narcissus and
 rose:—

³شاخکی چندِ نرگسِ رعنا گلی چندِ تازه و چیده
 آن همه دیدِ هایِ بے چهره ویں همه چهره هایِ بے دیده

¹ Lubāb.

² Note:—Shibli has attributed this *qit'a* to Rūdakī, saying that the latter had composed it for Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (*Shi'r ul 'Ajam*, vol. I, p. 63). It is evidently a mistake, for Rūdakī was not living in the time of Maḥmūd, but flourished at the court of the Sāmānīd king Naṣr bin Aḥmād, long before the Ghaznavīds came to power.

³ Ātashkadāh, p. 118.

Another famous poet of Mu'izzuddīn's court Nāzūkī of Marā- was Nāzūkī of Marāghah. His ghah. several poems in praise of the Sultān are preserved in various histories. The following *qit'a* which he composed on the occasion of the Sultān's coronation is reproduced here by way of illustration:—

¹ شه معز دین که از دولتِ اوست هیچو گدسته فلک بسته میان
 رفت بر تخت چو گل در وقتے که فلک بُرد خور اندر میزبان
 آنکه در آتشِ قهرش بد خواه جانِ شهریں بدهد شکرِ سان
 شکرِ دین و گلِ دولتِ را باقمِ آمیخت سپهرِ گردان
 یاربِ این گلشکرِ دولتِ و دین سببِ صحتِ عالمِ گردان

Besides being a poet, he was deeply learned in Qāzī Hamīd of Ethics and Jurisprudence. One Balkh. *qit'a* which he wrote in praise of the Sultān on the occasion of a victory in battle is quoted below:—

² خسرو غازی معز الدین و الدنیا که هست
 روزِ هیجا با هایوں را یتشِ همسرِ ظفر
 بوالظفرِ شهرِ یارِ شرقِ کُندرِ معرکه
 گوئیا داردِ هایِ چترشِ اندرِ پرِ ظفر

¹ Badāūnī gives the first line as follows, which is out of metre:—

شه معز الدین کز دولتِ اوست

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 54)

² Ibid.

The one important factor in the development of Persian literature in Mu'izzuddīn's time was the arrival of fresh bands of Persian men of letters from Khurāsān along with his army, with which he quelled the rebellion at Lāhore, which took place during his stay at Ghaznī where he had been urgently called by reason of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn's death. This immigration of Persian men of letters is a link in the cultural connection between India and Persia, which was firmly established by Maḥmūd.

One of the most distinguished men of learning of Mu'izzuddīn's court was Imām Imām Fakhruddīn Rāzī, and his connection with India. Fakhruddīn Rāzī, the famous divine. He was much admired and respected by the king and the people; even in times of war Rāzī's tent used to be near the King's. Rāzī preached to the army once a week, whether in India or at Ghaznī, and the king with all his officials attended Rāzī's sermons which were delivered in the Persian language. It is authoritatively asserted that Rāzī often had to stay in India for months and years together while in the company of the king. The real significance of these weekly Persian sermons which were attended by hundreds and thousands of India's common folk, besides the bulk of the royal army, has not yet been fully understood in all its aspects by the Persian chroniclers. Its effect was undoubtedly far-reaching, inasmuch as it completely revolutionised the literary taste of the people, and

stirred up the cultured and poetically-minded class to take to writing in Persian. The Sultān was so greatly devoted to Rāzī that he often wept in the presence of the audience.¹ One day Rāzī pointedly addressed, in the course of his lectures, the following lines to the king, purporting that the world is transitory, and that he should try to live at peace with all, even with his enemies :—

اگر دشمن نسازد با تو ای دوست ترا باید که با دشمن بسازی
و گر نه چند روزی صبر فرما نه او ماند نه تو نه فکر رازی

Another great event of this period is the immigration of some learned Sūfis from Persia to India. Their stay here with a view to imparting spiritual instruction and propagating mystical ideas among the people, and thereby creating an unprecedented taste and enthusiasm for Persian mysticism opens a new chapter in the growth of ethical ideas in India. This teaching was conducted partly in the Persian language and partly in the

¹ Cf.—

امام فخرالدین رازی...دو لشکر سلطان معزالدین محمد سام اقامت
داشته هر هفته بوعظ قیام می نمود و سلطان در پای وعظ او رفته رفته
بسیار می کرد -

(Ibid., p. 53)

² Ibid.

local Prākritis, which the Persian Sūfīs made a special effort to acquire. But, on the whole, the main vehicle was Persian, specially Persian poetry.

Islām was progressing side by side with Persian literature under the banner of the Ghaznavīd kings, and the number of the reciters of the *Kalima i Tauhīd* (the formula of the Oneness of God) was fast multiplying in the North-Western territory of Hindūstān. The Hindū States connected with the Punjāb were under the sway of idolatry, and the same was the case with the vast tracts of Rājputāna. There were rich temples, where idols were worshipped with great zeal and ceremony as in Sōmnāth, of which a vivid account was given by Farrukhī in his memorable *qasīdah* already cited. The supposed principle of the Unity of God, which a section among the Hindū elite advocated and claimed to be inherent in the worship of the animals, trees and stones, was not a feature or tendency in common practice, nor was it believed in theory. The public viewed the form itself to be the substance, and rejoiced in its worship. The custodians of the temples had attributed such miracles to their deities that the worshippers entertained no doubt as to their absolute power and might, and made no attempt to discover the real *One*. The assertion, therefore, that these physical objects were the manifestations of One God, worshipped to emphasise and impress His greatness on the mind, was a delusion. People in general were

not very different from the educated public in their religious beliefs and customs so that everywhere in the towns and villages of India the worship of the creature, instead of the Creator, was the order of the day and was conducted with solemnity and ceremony.

Such was the state of religion and society when
 Arrival of Khwājah Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī
 Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī Sanjarī Isfahānī arrived in India
 from Persia. from Persia in the beginning of
 556 A. H. He finally settled in Ajmēr, the capital
 city of Rāi Pithōrā, and here founded a school for the
 teaching of Sūfism which spread its influence not
 only on the soil of Rājputāna, but also on the minds
 of the people far beyond its boundaries, irrespective
 of caste and creed. Many spiritual men and Sūfīs
 had come to India before, and it is possible that dur-
 ing the time of the *Khulafā i Rāshidīn* even the Com-
 panions of the Holy Prophet might have visited the
 country, but their names and enterprises are not
 preserved in history. As far as we know, the Khwā-
 jah was the first to come and light the candle of Sūfism
 in upper Hindūstān by laying the foundation of a
 regular school for the teaching of the Sūfī cult.¹

¹ It is to be noted that Abul Hasan bin 'Uṣmān bin 'Alī al Hujvērī, a learned theologian and Sūfī, the famous author of the *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, who was a resident of Ghaznī, had come down to Lāhore in 433 A. H. Here he spent the rest of his life in teaching the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Holy

The ancestors of the Khwājah lived in Sīstān, but he was born at Isfahān¹ in 537 A. H.,² and was brought up in Khurāsān,³ where he also received primary education and became a regular disciple of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī of Chisht.⁴ He served his

Prophet. He died in 455 A. H., and was buried at Lāhore. He had, doubtless, created a taste for Sūfism and a desire for the purification of *self* among the peoples of the Punjab, but his teaching was not so universal and organised as that of the Khwājah. It could not, therefore, be said to have laid the foundation of any permanent spiritual structure in India, and consequently no traces of his school and his teachings are to be found anywhere today. On the other hand, the Khwājah is a living force, and his disciples are to be met with in every town of upper Hindūstān, carrying the Khwāja's message to every seeker of divine knowledge. Abul Hasan's *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, which he wrote at Lāhore, is a collection of answers to particular questions put from time to time by a fellow Sūfī and friend Abū Sa'īd al Hujvērī. The nature and trend of the aforesaid questions were *Who is a Sūfī? Who is a learned man? What is the good of their existence in the world?* Abul Hasan, in response to this, explained the term *Sūfī* in its broadest sense, and defined *learning* and the *learned* as interpreted in the Holy Qur'ān:—

أَنَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ الْعُلَمَاءِ

¹ Cf.— مولد شریف وی بلد اصفهان است (Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 241)

² Cf.— ولادت با سعادت آنجناب در سال پانصد و سی و هفت به وقوع آمد (Ibid., p. 250)

³ Cf.— و نشو و نما در خراسان یافت (Ibid.)

⁴ *Chisht* is a small village in Khurāsān, to which Khwājah Abū Ishāq, a teacher of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī, had migrated from Syria. Here he used to impart instructions to his disciples, who became subsequently known as *Chishtīs*. The Khwājah also, for this reason, was called *Chishtī*.

master for eight years,¹ and during this time gained a good insight into Sūfism, and was appointed his *Khalifah* (Deputy) in his very lifetime.² The saint died in 554 A. H., when the Khwājah was seventeen years old. The Khwāja's father, Ghiyāṣuddīn, had his ancestral property at Sīstān, but had left the place only two years after the birth of the child, owing to the periodical attacks on Sīstān by the barbarous and troublesome Tārtars known as the *Ghaz*. He went to Khurāsān and took up his residence in the suburbs of Nishāpūr, where his death occurred in 551 A. H. The Khwājah was then only fourteen years old. He had two other brothers on whom the inheritance devolved. The share he received consisted

¹ Cf.—

خواجہ بزرگ معین الحق والہ والدین حسن الحسینی سنجرى ...
ہشت سال در خدمتِ خواجہ عثمان ہارونى قدس اللہ سرہ ہوں -

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 22, Nawāzish Khān
Press, Delhi, 1327 A. H.)

Note:—A later printed edition gives the reading *بست سال* (twenty years) which is not supported by any other writer, and may be a misprint for *ہشت سال* (eight years).

(Ibid., Muṣṭabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1332 A. H.)

² Cf.—

در سفر و حضر جامہ خوابِ خواجہ نگاہ داشتے - انکلا بہ نعمتِ خلافت
مشرف گردید -

(Ibid.)

of a small garden and a stone-mill. In 549 A. H., when he was hardly twelve, he had seen with his own eyes the devastations of the Gḥḥz Tārtars, the massacre and plunder of Nīshāpūr, the burning of its precious libraries, the slaughter of hundreds of scholars of renown,¹ the defeat and arrest of Sul-tān Sanjar at the hands of the Tārtars and the insults and humiliation to which the dignitaries were subjected. Consequently, his heart had become cold towards worldly splendour and wealth. After his father's death he remained for about four years in the district of Nīshāpūr where his ancestral garden, which was his only means of subsistence, was situated. At the close of the fourth year, a *majzūb* saint, Ibrāhīm Qalandar, who resided in that vicinity, chanced to pass that way. When he arrived, the Khwājah accorded him a warm welcome, spread out a carpet

¹ Some most notable persons who were put to death were:

- (i) Muhammad bin Yahyā *Faqīh*, a learned theologian of the Shāfi'i school of thought, who is said to have no equal in his day in the entire Muslim world.
- (ii) 'Ārif 'Abdurrahmān bin 'Abdussamad Akāf, whose piety and learning, which were of household repute in Khurāsān, had attracted thousands of disciples to Nīshāpūr. Even Sultan Sanjar used to attend in person on the 'Ārif to profit by his company and to gain his blessings.
- (iii) Ahmād bin Husain al-kātib, the philosopher, who was the nephew of Imām Muhammad Qushairī.
- (iv) Imām 'Alī Sabbāgh, the well-known writer and logician of the age.
- (v) Qāzī Sā'id Undulūsī, the historian and *adīb*.

for him, knelt and kissed his hands and presented him with a bunch of grapes fresh from the garden. Pleased with this demeanour and hospitality of his young host, the saint took out a piece of کنجاره (oil-cake) from his wallet, bit it with his teeth and then put it into the mouth of the Khwājah. As soon as he ate it, he felt a radical change in his condition, and his heart became completely averse to material concerns¹. Soon after the saint's departure, the Khwājah sold his garden and the mill with all other appurtenances, divided the proceeds among the poor and left the place with some of his faithful followers in search of the Divine Light. He arrived first in Bukhārā, which was a noted centre for religious and ethical knowledge in Central Asia. Here he learnt the Qur'ān by heart, and read its commentary with the learned divines of the town. He then travelled through Samarqand and other cities of Tur-kistān, and subsequently returned to his native place, Isfahān, where he met with Khwājah Qutbuddīn

¹ Cf.

روزے در آن باغ تشریف می داشت که مجذوبه ابراهیم قلندر نام را
در آنجا گذر افتاد... قدرے کنجاره از بغل آورده در دهان خود نهاد و
بدندان خائیده بر آورد و بدست خود در دهان خواجه نهاد بمجرد خوردن
کنجاره انوار الهی در دل خواجه جلوه گر شدند و خاطر فیض مآثر از اسباب
دنیا سرد شد -

Bakhtyār Kākī, a young ardent Sūfī, who became his disciple and accompanied him to India.

From Isfahān he repaired with his followers to Balkh, where a strange event,

The occurrence of a strange event: conversion of Ziyā'uddīn Hakīm, the famous logician, who had no faith in Sūfism.

which was attributed to his supernatural powers, occurred. It was the conversion to faith of the famous logician Ziyā'uddīn Hakīm, who was a strong op-

ponent of the Sūfīs and derided their cult in his public lectures. Some details of this incident are as follows. In 555 A. H., when the Khwājah reached Balkh, he stayed in a village, and one evening shot a *kulāng* (wild crane) with his arrow to break his fast. He always carried with him a salt-cellar, a flint-stone and a bow with arrows to serve him in the hour of need. He would shoot some *halāl* bird or quadruped in the jungle when nothing could be had for his own and his followers' break-fast. This, from the purely religious point of view, was to be the best earned food. It so happened that one day Ziyā'uddīn, who with his pupils had gone out for a stroll, passed that way, and seeing a stranger offering his evening prayers with devout zeal and reciting the Holy Qur'ān in a sweet, beautiful voice, stopped to hear him. When the prayer was finished, Ziyā'uddīn embraced the Khwājah and entered into conversation with him. In the meantime, one of the attendants of the Khwājah put before him

the roast *kulang* with the salt-cellar. The Khwājah offered a portion to his guest, who thankfully accepted it and ate with him. No sooner did he do this than he fell in a swoon, and when he regained his consciousness, he found himself to be a totally different man, and his former disbelief in Sūfism was completely shattered and turned into a firm belief.¹ He and all his followers accepted the Khwājah as their spiritual guide, and became afterwards devout adherents of his cult.² This incident created a sensation in Balkh, and multitudes thronged to have his *darshan*. From there he set out to India via Ghazni, and reached Lāhore in 556 A. H. This Indian capital city was ahead of its rival in worldly splendour

¹ Cf.—

و ضیاءالدین حکیم که بغایت مغرور و منکر تصوف بود نیز اتفاقاً از
آنطرف گذر کرد و از خواهش خوانی و قرأتِ خواجه بزرگ متاثر شده
بنشست تا یکدیگر را در یابند. . . صاحبِ کلنگ که باب کرده را پیش نهاد
خواجه پارهٔ ازل به حکیم بخشید و بتغردنش اشارت نمود — بمجود خوردن
حکیم از خویشتن برفت و چون صحت یافت خود را بکلی منزّه و مهرا از
همه و همه دید —

(Siyar us Sālikīn, pp. 41-42)

² Cf.—

همه یاران با صفا به ارادت و اخلاص تمام معتقد آنحضرت شدند و دل
در طاعت او بستند —

(Ibid., p. 43)

and in religious and cultural advancement. But here too he did not tarry long. After a forty days' vigil at the tomb of his predecessor, Abul Hasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujvērī, he left for Multān, and asked his comrade-in-chief, Khwājah Qutbuddīn, to go to Delhi and start his teaching there. Before his departure to Multān, the Khwājah composed a fine *qasīdah* in honour of the saint at whose tomb he had completed the vigil. The first verse runs thus:—

گنج بخش فیضِ عالم مظهرِ نورِ خدا کاملان را پیرِ کامل ناصحان را دهنما¹

The same year he reached Multān where he seriously applied himself for about five years to the study of Sanskrit and the Prākṛit of the land,² to enable him to come in personal contact with the masses and preach successfully to them the cult of Sūfism. This appears to have been his avowed mission from the very beginning of his career when, in 549 A. H., he had seen Nishāpūr sacked at the hands of the Ghaz Tārtars, and the magnates and the elite of the town massacred in cold blood and their vanity fallen to dust. Having secured his objective,

¹ Ibid.

² Cf.—

حضرت ایشان قدس سره تا قریب پنج سال در بلد ملتان قیام نموده
جهت بسیار در حصول زبانِ هندویان بکار بردند و ناصحان را برگشتند —

he with his followers left for Delhi where he stayed for some time with his *Khalīfah* whom he gave fresh instructions on the divine mission entrusted to their care. Finally, he departed for Ajmēr of which, it is asserted, he had been apprised in his dream. There were neither Muslim institutions here as in Lāhore and Delhi, nor had any Muslim preacher, prior to him, trodden the ground and left his print, showing the way to others. His difficulties were enormous, but his determination surmounted them all. There were large and powerful Hindū States all round, which had formed a bulwark against the propagation of any such mission in the interior of Rājputāna. He reached Ajmēr on the 10th of Muharram 561 A. H.,¹ when only four and twenty. A tall, handsome figure with a *faqīr's* mode of living, imbued with a high sense of devotion, a true example of self-denial and service to mankind, with no personal ambition for power or fame, fasting in the day and keeping vigil at night and plainly dressed in coarse hand-woven cloth, he could not but impress even the most wary. He came, accompanied by *forty* devout adherents, in the reign of Rāi Pithōrā at the time when the latter

¹ Cf.

چند در دهلی قیام پذیر مانده بتاریخ دهم ماه محرم سنه ۵۶۱ ه
دوق افروز دارالخیر اجمیر گشت

(Khazinat ul Asfiyā, p. 243)

was present in his capital,¹ and like a stranger stayed at first under a *peepal* tree outside the gate of the city, where the Rājā's camels rested at night.² In the evening, when the camels arrived and their keepers objected to his passing the night there, he moved to Ānā-Sāgar, from where he subsequently shifted to his permanent place of residence in the heart of the town, where his mausoleum now stands.³

¹ Cf. و در زمان پتهورا راے هندوستان باجمیر آمد و عبادت مولی مشغول شد و پتهورا نیز در آن زمان در اجمیر بود -
(Akḥbār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

² Cf: چون خواجه معین الحق والدین در اجمیر رسید بیرون شهر زیر درخته که شتران راجه اجمیر در انجامی نشستند مقام فرمود -
(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 244)

Note:—The tree under which the Khwājah took shelter on his arrival at Ajmēr is stated by a modern writer, Abul Faẓl, to be a *peepal* tree; also the number of his disciples, who accompanied him on his mission to Ajmēr, is said to be *forty*.

(Tarīkh i Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, p. 43)

³ Cf.—چون شب شد شتران راجه اجمیر در اینجا جمع آمدند و ساربانان بغداد مت حاضر شده عرض کردند که این مقام مقام نشستن شتران راجه ما است مجلس شما در اینجا نخواهد بود فرمود که ما از اینجا برومی خیزیم شتران شما نشسته باشند پس از آنجا روانه شده بر لب حوض آنا ساگر که بت خانه های بے شمار در آنجا تعمیر ساخته بودند مقام فرمود بعد چنده خواجه مکان بود و باض خویش اندرون شهر تجویز فرموده در شهر تشریف آورد و بجایگاه الکال روضه منوره آنجناب واقع است قیام فرمود -
(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, pp. 244-46)

This was the period of the decline of the Ghaznavid empire and the rise to power of the Ghōrī kings. Sultān Shihābuddīn led his first attack on Rājputāna in 587 A. H., when the Khwājah was there for over a quarter of a century and had been successfully preaching his mission since then among the masses. Rāi Pithōrā aided by Gobind Rāi, the mandatory Rājā of Delhi, and several others¹ presented to the Sultān a united front, and their combined armies inflicted a heavy defeat on the latter, who was wounded on the battle-field and fled for his life.² He was again preparing for a

¹ Cf.

شنیدیم چو را یانِ هندِ این خبر	شنیدند بستند در کین کمر
پتھورا ز اجیر لشکر کشید	بسے اهلِ ہندھس بیاری رسید
ز دہلی بہ پیوست گوہند راے	بفوج پتھورای لشکر کشاے
دگر جملہ را یانِ ہندی دیار	شدہ ساختہ از پے کارزار

(ʿIṣāmī, Futūḥ us Salātīn, p. 67, National Press, Agra, 1938)

² Cf.

چو از ہر دو جانب صف آراستند	حریف از دو جانب ہمی خواستند
شنیدیم خود آن خسرو چیرہ دست	خروشید و جوشید چون شہر مست
برانگیخت رخس آن یل صفِ شمع	بزد نیزہ گوہند را بر دھن
ہماں چیرہ گوہند پر خاشِ گر	بر انداخت ز و پیس بواں شہرِ نر
چنان بازوہں شد ز ژوپیں دکار	کہ از اسپ افتاد آن شہرِ یار
چو لشکرِ درانِ حالِ شہ را بدید	عناں را بعزمِ ہزیمت کشید

second attack to wipe off the disgrace of this defeat. Meanwhile the Khwājah was busy with his mission, gaining more popularity every day among the State subjects, because of his benevolent nature and saintly life. The people at large, and the Hindū nobility,

بانو اچ ترکان شکستے فتاد سوے ملک خود هر يکے سر نهاد
(Ibid.) pp. 67-68

Note:—I had no knowledge of this poet until sometime after the publication of the *Futūh us Salātīn* in 1938, edited by Dr. Āghā Mahdī Hasan of the Agra College, Agra. The work was discovered by him in the India Office Library during his stay in London. It is a valuable addition to the existing poetical literature of our country, and supplies one more instance of an indigenous poet trying to compete with Firdausī, the renowned epic poet of Persia. The published work contains 11,524 verses written in the manner and style of Firdausī's *Shāhnāmāh*, and dedicated to Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Hasan, the founder of the Bahmanī Dynasty. The nativity of the poet is established on the authority of the author of the *Majmū'a i Taẓkār*, who incidentally mentions a young poet of Delhi by name: 'Isāmuddīn. This is corroborated by the poet's own statement that he left Delhi for Daulatābād when only 16 years old. He lived during the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule, and was a contemporary of Khusrau. He finished his work, which may worthily be called the *Shāhnāmāh of India*, in 751 A. H., when he was 40 years of age. The most surprising event is that it took him only 5 months and 9 days to complete the whole poem. Thus he was easily ahead of Firdausī in speed, a fact which shows his perfect mastery and command of the language. The work in quality and general historical aspect is similar to Firdausī's *Shāhnāmāh*. It begins with:—

بنام خداوندِ هر دو جهان کند ابتدا نامه کار آگهان

(Ibid. p. 1)

who came to visit him at Ajmēr felt attracted towards him, and the stamp of his virtuous life was impressed on their hearts. Many a stranger and traveller, who came from far off places in search of *light* or livelihood, applied to him for shelter and help which he always ungrudgingly extended. His influence over the common people and the nobility had grown considerably, and a word of recommendation from him in respect of any one carried weight with them, so that the needy seldom returned from his door gloomy and disappointed. It is for this reason that he was popularly called *Gharīb Nawāz* (the entertainer of strangers). His motto of life, as he himself stated, was:—

درویش آنست که هر آن بنده راں کس که بکاجت آید مکروم و
نا مراد نکر داند -

A *darwīsh* is he who does not deprive and disappoint any one who cometh to him in his need.

Rāi Pithōrā seemed at first to have no grudge against the Khwājah, because of his harmless and non-political mission, but subsequently smelt danger, and did not like his growing religious influence, which was drawing many of the State subjects to his fold. The worst was that the sepoys of the

Rājā's army too were embracing Islām and becoming his disciples. At this time, the Muḥammadan kings of the line of Ghōr were leading their attacks against Delhi and Ajmēr, which endangered the very existence of the Hindū power and suzerainty in those parts. Another factor which enraged Pithōrā was that one of his own servants was reported to have embraced Islām and become a devout adherent of the Khwājah. This state of affairs could not be tolerated by the royal house, as it was feared that others would follow suit. The servant consequently lost all favour, suffered a good deal of injury and was eventually dismissed from the service on some pretext. Thereupon, the latter solicited help from the Khwājah, who sent a special messenger to Pithōrā interceding for the servant and recommending his reinstatement. But Rājā Pithōrā not only contemptuously rejected the Khwāja's request, but made adverse remarks, whereupon the latter prophesied Pithōrā's fall from power and his capture at the hands of the Muslim king.¹ Shortly after this incident,

و هم دریں اوان یکے از ملازمان پتهورا بدستِ خواجه بیعت نموده قدم
از کفر و ضلال بیرون نهاد - بمجرب استماعِ این خبر او از نظر دلی و رایان
بیفتاد و رنجها کشید و در فکر ما یحتاج سر گشته و حیران ماند و التجا
بخواجه بزرگ آورد - حضرت ایشان از راه تعلق که جہلتِ کریمان
است قاصدے نزد پتهورا بشفاعت فرستادند - اما پتهورا الفاظ نا ملایم که ما

Shihābuddīn Ghōrī led his second attack in 588 A. H. The strength of his army, including his cavalry and infantry, was estimated to be at one *lac*, against which Rāi Pithōrā's forces were three times as great. The Rājā of Delhi and other ruling chiefs of surrounding States had brought together on the battle-field a huge garrison with seven hundred veteran fighting elephants to create panic in the rank and file of the enemy at the very outset. Both the armies met at Tirōrī and tried their strength heroically. At last, after a day's fierce battle the united armies of the Rājās were defeated, and Khandē Rāo, the Commander-in-chief, was killed on the battle-field. Rāi Pithōrā, who at first managed to escape under cover of darkness, fell a captive in the hands of some

اورا از شهر بیرون کنیم بر زبان را ند و التفاتے نکرد - چون حضرت ایشان
سخنهای اورا بشنیدند فرمودند که بے نصیب است و بکردار خود گرفتار آمده
و ما اورا بیرون کردیم و دادیم -

(Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 44)

Also cf.—

روزے پتھورا مسلمانے را از پیوستگان خواجہ قدس سرہ بسہارے از
اسباب رنجانید - آن مسلمان التجا بخداست او آورد و خواجہ بشفاعت
بر پتھورا گفتہ فرستاد - پتھورا گفتہ شیخ قبول نکرد و گفت این مرد درین
جا آمده است و نشسته سخنان غیب می گوید - چون این سخن بخواجہ
رسید فرمود کہ پتھورا را زندہ گرفتیم و دادیم -

(Akhhār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

Pathāns, and was brought back and put to death. In this way the prophecy of the Khwājah came to be literally true.

After this victory, the Sultān entrusted the kingdom of Ajmēr to Pithōrā's son, and himself repaired to Ghaznī, having appointed Qutbuddīn, one of his trusted and able slaves, as the Viceroy of his Indian possessions. Qutbuddīn nominated a pious and learned Sūfī, Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, popularly known as *khing-sawār* (horse-rider), as his 'Amīl (agent) of Ajmēr. He was a great admirer of the Khwājah, and, according to some writers, had already become his disciple. This afforded a very favourable opportunity for the Khwāja's mission to succeed and spread in the whole of Rājputāna and Central India. Hundreds of people from the interior of the country visited Ajmēr every day and freely embraced Islām and became his converts. His death occurred at the advanced age of 97 on the 6th of Rajab, 633 A. H., on which date his 'Urs (death anniversary) is held every year at Ajmēr. Late in life, he married the daughter of Sayyid Wajihuddīn, uncle of Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet, and had issue whose descendants are still the custodians of his tomb.

The great belief of the Indian people in his saintly life and devotion in the service of mankind contributed to his immense popularity and endeared him to every heart. His motto of life

"to deprive and disappoint none who cometh to him in his need" was inviolate in his life-time and even after his death. Millions have since been visiting his tomb every year to have their wishes fulfilled, and what is more important, return home successful. The childless get children, the poor money, and the sick health. Akbar, the Great, went on foot from Āgra to Ajmēr to pay his homage to the Khwājah, in fulfilment of his vow to God on the birth of Jahāngīr in 977 A. H.¹

He was a Persian by birth, and had come away

¹ Cf.—

توجه فرمودین حضرت شاهنشاهی پیاده از دارالخلافه باجمیر
و کامیاب شدن... بمطلب صوری و معنوی

چون شعار اقدس پادشاهی استمداد هست از بزرگان است دران هذءام که
جویای فرزند آرجمند بودند معامله با ایزد خود رفته بود که چون این امنیت
بکسول انجامد از ابواب شکر عملی که بنفس مقدس متعلق شود آن بوده
باشد که از دارالخلافه آگره پیاده زیارت روضه متبرکه خواجه معین الدین
چشتی که از مقربان درگاه الهی اند رفته لوازم اطاعت ایزدی بتقدیم رسانند
و مقرر بود در رجب که ماه عرس گرامی ایشان است این نیت از
مکامن قوت بفعل آید و چون آنچنان گوهر شب تاب درج خلانت بساحل
امید آمد ایفای نذر از شرائط حق گذاری و وفا بعهد از لوازم سپاسداری
نشناخته... روز جمعه دوازدهم ماه شعبان از دارالخلافه آگره پیاده قدم در
وادی مرحله پیمائی و بیابان نوردی نهادند -

(Abul Fazl, Akbarnāmah, vol. II, pp. 349-50)

to India in his early youth when only eighteen. His latent poetic powers were developed and displayed in the new surroundings after his arrival in India. He did not attempt panegyric or epic poems in the expectation of reward like the poets of the Ghaznavīd regime. Of the various kinds of poetry, he chose to write the *ghazal* and the *qasīdah*, every couplet of which is full of divine love. It is also noticeable that the tone of his verses is quite different from the general trend of Persian and Indian composition of his time. He left poetical works consisting of over seven thousand *bait*,¹ but unfortunately only a small portion of it has survived, which is a mirror of the development of Sūfistic poetry in India. Some specimens of his *ghazal* and *qasīdah* are cited below which throw ample light on the standard attained by him in the art of poetical composition, and also give us an insight into the poetic atmosphere obtaining in India which influenced and shaped his Sūfistic poetry.

¹ Cf.—

حضرت ایشان در زمرة شعراى نامدار از مغتنماتِ روزگار اند و در
امنافِ شعر قصیده و غزل موعی دارند — مجموعه کلام عرفان آنحضرت که
گنجینه بیش از هفت هشت هزار بیت بوده از دستِ دورانِ نامهربان
از میان رفت و اندکی از آن مانده —

غزل

در حمد

دبود جان و دلم را جمال نام خدا نواخت تشنه لبان را زلال نام خدا
 وصال حق طلبی همنشین نامش باهش بیین وصال خدا در وصال نام خدا
 میان اسم و مسمی چو فرق نیست بیین تو در تجلی اسما کمال نام خدا
 یقین بدان که تو با حق نشسته شب و روز چو همنشین تو باشد خیال نام خدا
 ترا سزد طیران در فضای عالم قدس بشرط آنکه پیروی بهال نام خدا
 چو نام او شنوم گر بود مرا صد جان فدای اوست بعز و جلال نام خدا
 معین ز گفتن نامش ملول که گردد که از خداست ملالت ملال نام خدا

In praise of God.

The beauty of the name of God has robbed me
 of my heart and soul,
 The pure water of His name quenched the thirsty
 lips;
 If thou desirest His Union, be an associate of
 His name,
 Realise the Union with God in the recitation of
 His name;
 When there is no difference in the *Name* and the
Named, see
 In the glorification of His name the perfection
 of the same;
 Believe that thou art sitting in the company of
 God day and night,
 When thy companion is the reminiscence of
 His name;

It is befitting for thee to fly in the air of the
celestial world,

If only thou fliest with the wings of His name;
When I hear His name, if there be a hundred
lives in me,

I swear by the glory of His name that I would
sacrifice them all;

When does Mu'in grudge the repetition of His
name?

Since that grudge implies a grudge against Him.

وله

در حمد

دلا بطلقت رندان بزم عشق در آ که جرعه ز شراب بقا دهند ترا
بیاو هر دو جهانرا بشددر اندر نه درین قمار بیک داد هر چه هست درآ
اگر بقا طلبی اولت فنا باید که تا فنا نشوی ره نمی بوی به بقا
تو باز شاهی و از دست شاه پرییدی بغیر شاه مکن میل و سوی شه باز آ
ز ظلمت بشریت چو بگذری بر سی ازین حُضیض دناوت بر اوج او ادنی
بُراق عشق برای تو صد قدم طے کرد تو هم مضایقه بگذار و یک قدم پیش آ
تو چند در طلب یار در بدر گردی بخود نگر که توئی مظهر همه اسما
باین مهبس که تو خاکی و خاک تیره بود باین نگر که تو آئینه جمال نما
سکاب عشق چو باران شوق می بارد عجب مدارگر از خاک بشکند گنها
نقاب هستی خود را تو از میان بردار دگر باین که جمال که می شود پیدا
بکبر مصقله عشق و زنگ تن بر دای باین در آئینه جان جمال جانان را
بکوهی تا که ز چشمت غبار بر خیزد که تا معاینه بینی ظهور نام خدا
اگر تجلی نور قدم هسی خواهی معین نقاب حدوث از جمال خود بکشا

In Praise of God

O heart, come to the circle of libertines in the
assembly of love
So that they may give thee a draught from the
wine of Eternity;
Come and put both the worlds within the *six*
gates,
In this gamble stake the whole of existence;
If thou seekest eternal existence, seek first non-
existence,
Because thou canst not get the way to eternal
existence, unless thou hast renounced thine
own existence;
Thou art the king's hawk, and thou hast flown
from the king's wrist,
Do not intend to fly in any other direction with-
out the king's assent, come back to the king;
As soon as thou hast passed the darkness of hu-
manity, thou wilt reach,
From the depth of this lowness, to the height
of nearness to God;
The *burāq* of love has trodden a hundred paces
towards thee,
Thou shouldst give up hesitation and go a step
forward;
How long dost thou wander from door to door
in search of the Beloved?
See within, because thyself is a mirror of all His

names;

Do not think that thou art dust and the dust is gloomy,

See that thou art the mirror which reflects *beauty*;
When the cloud of love pours down the rain of desire,

Do not wonder if flowers grow out of the earth;
Lift the curtain of thy existence from thy midst,
Then behold whose beauty becomes manifest;
Take the polish of love and remove the rust of thy body,

See in the mirror of thy soul the beauty of the loved One;

Try that the dust be removed from thine eye
So that thou mayst see the blaze of Divine light;
If thou desirest to possess the effulgence of *Eternal light*,

Mu'in, lift the veil of *mortality* from thy beautiful figure.

وای

در حد

پیش خویش بر افکن نقابِ دعوی را	بهون بکسوتِ صورتِ جمالِ معلی را
بزن بسنگِ ملامت ز جاجه ناموس	بکوی عشق بریز آبروی تقوی را
چو هست باغِ جنال خوشه ز خرمن من	به نیم جو نخرم کشت زار دنیا را
بعتی او که به کونین چشم نکشایم	که تا نخست نه بینم جمالِ موالی را
ز برگ برگِ درختِ وجودِ خود شنوم	دمروز عشق که گفت آن درختِ موسی را
اگر ز آتشِ عشقت بسو ختم چه عجب	که کوه تاب نیا ورد یک تجلی را

معین بچشم خرد حسن دوست ننماید
 بین بدیده مجنون جمال لیلی را

In Praise of God

Throw off the veil of conceit from before thy
self,
 See the beauty of Reality in the clothing of form;
 Break the glass of prestige with the stone of
 reproach,
 Strip off the robe of outward piety in the lane of
 love;
 Since the garden of Paradise is a mere bunch
 from my barn,
 I shall not buy the sown-field of the whole world
 even for half a grain of barley;
 I swear by Him that I shall not open my eye
 unto the two worlds,
 Until I first see His beauty;
 From every leaf of the tree of my existence I
 hear
 The secrets of love which that tree told Moses;
 If I got burnt in the fire of Thy love, it is no
 wonder,
 For even the *Mountain* could not bear a single
 ray of Thy splendour;
 Mu'in, the beauty of the Beloved cannot be seen
 by the eye of wisdom,
 See the beauty of *Lailā* with the eye of *Majnūn*.

وله
در نعت

عالم نمے از رشک بکر کرم اوست آدم کف خاک ز غبار قدم اوست
آدم شدہ بیدار و هنوز او بشکر خواب شاہش وجودیکہ طفیل عدم اوست
عیسی کہ چو خوردشید زند خیمہ بر افلاک در آرزوی سایہ عالی علم اوست
در در شکم بکر نہا نست و دل او در یست کہ صد بکر نہاں در شکم اوست
ہر بندہ کہ دارد خط آزادی دوزخ آن بندہ غلام وی و آن خط رقم اوست
شادی جہاں کرد فدای غم امت دانست کہ شادی جہاں غم اوست
چون دید کہ نیکی تو کم بود بدی بیش زمین واسطہ دانم کہ غم بیش و کم اوست
جانم کہ طہد ہر نفس از بہر وصالش موقوف بر دوں آمدن کم بہ دم اوست
داریم امیدے کہ نہ پرسند بہ مکشر تقصیر معینی کہ بنابر کرم اوست

In praise of the Holy Prophet

The world is a moisture from the drop of the
ocean of his benevolence,

Adam is a handful of dust from the dust under
his feet;

Adam was awake when he (the Prophet) was
still in sweet sleep,

Praiseworthy is the existence of the former
which came only because the latter was to
come;

Jesus, who like the sun pitches his tent on the
skies,

Aspires for the shadow of his (Prophet's) lofty
banner;

The pearl is hidden in the stomach of the ocean,
 and his heart
 Is an ocean which contains a hundred oceans
 inside it;
 Every one who possesses a letter of release from
 hell,
 Is his slave and carries his writ;
 He forsook the joys of the world for the sake
 of his followers,
 For he knew that the happiness of the world
 could only be gained through his suffering;
 When he saw that thy virtues are small and thy
 vices great,
 It was for this reason, I know, that his grief
 became more and joy less;
 My life that in every breath burns for union
 with him,
 Is but awaiting to depart at his breath (order);
 We have a hope that they will not question, on
 the day of Resurrection,
 Mu'in's sins, which relied on his forgiveness.

وله

در حمد

کسیکه عاشق و معشوق خویشتن همه اوست
 حریفِ خلوت و ساقیِ انجمن همه اوست
 اگر بدیده تحقیق بنگری دا نی
 که ناظرِ دل و منظورِ جان و تن همه اوست

چو اندر آینه دل فتاد عکسِ رخس
 چنان نمود که در جسم و جان من همه اوست
 اگر تو خرقه هستی خویش پاره کنی
 نظر کنی که درین زیر پهرن همه اوست
 ز جامِ عشق نه منصور بیخود آمد و بس
 که دار نیز هی گفت با رسن همه اوست
 رموزِ عشق کند آشکار و نند یشد
 چو دل بدید که در سر و در عین همه اوست
 مگو که کثرتِ اشیا نقیضِ وحدتِ تست
 تو در حقیقت اشیا نظر نکن همه اوست
 تغلب است گر از اعتبار ما و منست
 ز اعتبار گذر کن که ما و من همه اوست
 چو نائی که نهد بردهان نی لب خویش
 نهاده بر دهن عاشقان دهن همه اوست
 چه جالی باده جام و کدام ساقی هست
 خوس باض معینی و دم مزین همه اوست

In praise of God

He who is the lover and himself the beloved,
 'Tis all He,

A companion in solitude and a cup-bearer in
 the assembly, 'Tis all He;

If thou seest with the eye of discernment, thou
 wilt find

That the looker into the heart and the one the
 soul and the body looked to, 'Tis all He;

When in the mirror of the heart the reflection of
His face appeared,
I so felt that in my body and soul 'Tis all He;
If thou tearest the garment of thy existence,
Thou wilt observe that under this clothing 'Tis
all He;
Not Mansūr alone became intoxicated with the
wine of love,
The scaffold also told the rope the same tale,
'Tis all He;
The secrets of love the heart freely discloses and
is not afraid,
Since it has perceived that in what is hidden and
what is apparent 'Tis all He;
It is wrong if the impression of *we* and *I* is crea-
ted,
March past this impression, because *we* and *I*
'Tis all He;
Like the flutist who puts his lip to the mouth of
the flute,
He has put his lip to the mouth of the lovers,
'Tis all He;
What is the place of the wine in the cup, and
who is the cup-bearer?
Be silent Mu'īn and restrain thy breath, 'Tis
all He.

ولہ

درِ حمد

مرا درِ دل بغیر از دوست چیزے درِ نمی گنجد
 بخلوت خانۂ سلطانِ کسیے دیگرِ نمی گنجد
 درونِ قصرِ دل دارم یکے شاہے کہ گر گاہ
 ز دل بیرونِ زندِ خیمہ بہ بکر و برِ نمی گنجد
 بہ صدرِ مسندِ ہرِ دل خیالش کے زندِ تکیہ
 کہ مہرِ کبریائے او بہرِ منظرِ نمی گنجد
 ننت گر چند موی شدِ حجابِ جاں بود ویرا
 مہانِ عاشق و معشوق موی درِ نمی گنجد
 صغیرِ ہاتفِ غیبی بکوش مرغِ جاں آمد
 کہ درِ آجِ ہواۓ عشقِ بال و پرِ نمی گنجد
 نفی ذاتِ خودِ بودن ز آنہائِ صفاتِ اولی
 ترا افسرِ چہ کارِ آید چو اینجا سرِ نمی گنجد
 حسابِ عمرِ صدِ عاقل بکشر بگذرد یکدم
 حسابِ یکدمِ عاشقِ بصدِ مکشرِ نمی گنجد
 رموزِ عشقِ اگر خواہی ز لوحِ دلِ توانِ خوانی
 کہ حرفے از روا یاتش بصدِ دفترِ نمی گنجد
 ز بکرِ عشقِ یک قطرہِ ظہورِ سرِ منصورِ است
 بطرفِ ہستِ عاشقِ ازیں کمترِ نمی گنجد
 بانِ جامیکہ منِ خوردم نہاں کے ماندِ اسرارم
 شرابِ عشقِ درِ جوشِ است درِ ساغرِ نمی گنجد
 معینی گر ہی خواہی کہ سرش بر زباںِ رانی
 مقامِ آن سرِ دارِ است برِ منہرِ نمی گنجد

In praise of God

In my heart none but my Friend doth enter,
In the private chamber of the King none but He
doth dwell;
In the mansion of my heart I have a King Who,
if ever,
Pitches His tent outside it, whom the sea and the
land would not bear;
How could the thought of Him grace the daïs
of every heart!
Because the signet of His grandeur does not
suffer every sight;
The body however much it has thinned like the
hair, still the veil of life is there,
Between the lover and the loved even a hair's
difference would not do;
The call of the Divine Messenger came to the
ear of the bird of life,
That in the height of the sphere of love feather
and wing are of no avail;
The negation of one's self is better than the
assertion of one's attributes,
Of what use to thee is the crown when there is
no place for the head?
The account of the lives of a hundred sages
will be settled in one breath on the day of
Resurrection,
While that of one breath of a lover cannot be

dealt with even in a hundred Resurrections;
 If thou desirest to learn the secrets of love, read
 from the tablet of the heart,
 Since a single letter of the recitals of His love
 cannot be contained in a hundred volumes;
 From the sea of love the revelation of the secret
 of Mansūr is a drop,
 Less than this is not possible for a lover's spirit;
 With the cup of wine I have taken, how could
 my secrets remain hidden?
 Love's wine is overflowing and is not contained
 in the cup;
 Mu'īn, if thou desirest to bring His secret to the
 tongue,
 The place for it is the scaffold: • this the pulpit
 cannot hold.

وله

در حمد

مگر صبا ز سرِ کوی دوست می آید
 که از زمین و زمان بوی دوست می آید
 چه رشک‌هست که از یاد می بوم هر شب
 که روی او ز چه بر روی دوست می آید
 ز کوی دوست چو عاشق کشیده دُرد پای
 کند شوق هم از موی دوست می آید
 وفا چگونه کند عقل و هوش بامن مست
 از آنکه جامِ هیا هوی دوست می آید

هر آنچه آیدت از غیب نیک و بد منگر
 همین بس است که از سوی دوست می آید
 ازین مصائبِ دورانِ منال و شادانِ باه
 که تیرِ دوست ز پهلوی دوست می آید
 بیا به وعظِ معینی رموزِ عشق شنو
 که از حکایتِ او بوی دوست می آید

In Praise of God

Methinks the breeze comes from the lane of the
 Beloved,
 That the Universe is filled with the breath of
 the Beloved;
 How jealous am I of my power of remembrance
 every night!
 Why does it place its face on the face of the
 Beloved?
 When the lover has withdrawn his feet from the
 lane of the Beloved,
 An attractive snare is laid from the curly locks
 of the Beloved;
 How could my senses remain faithful to me when
 I am intoxicated!
 Since the cup of ecstasy comes from the Beloved;
 Whatever comes to thee from Invisibility, do
 not look into its good or ill.
 It is enough for thee that it comes from the Be-
 loved;

Do not lament over these worldly troubles, but
 be happy
 That the arrow comes from the direction of the
 Beloved;
 Come to the preachings of Mu'in and hear the
 secrets of love,
 Because from his speech comes the breath of the
 Beloved.

وله

در معرفت

واقف آنست که دل واقفِ اسرار شود
 مرد آنست که جان طالبِ دیدار شود
 گنجِ مخفی چو بهزار ظهور آمده است
 عارف آن به که ز خلوت سوی بازار شود

.....
 او در آئینه من چهره خود می بیند
 خود بدین واسطه مطلوب و طلبگار شود

.....
 قدرِ جوهر شناسد مگر آن جوهره
 که صدف بشکند و خود درِ شهوار شود
 پرده آب و گل از روی دل و جان بردار
 تا همه ظلمتِ هستی تو انوار شود

.....
 هر که در بزم بقا جامِ نوح کند
 دست در حبلِ انا الحق زده بردار شود

عکسِ رخسارهٔ ساقی چو تند بر رخ جام
 در به میخانه کند زاهد و خمار شود
 هر کرا عقدۀ زلفِ تو در آرد بکند
 بکسلد رشتهٔ تسبیح و بزّار شود
 این چه راز است که از پردهٔ برون می افتد
 تا دل بے خبران واقفِ اسرار شود
 یعنی آن لطف و عنایت که خداوندِ مراست
 چه عجب باشد اگر بندهٔ گنہگار شود
 چون پیروشدینِ بیمار خود آئی سکرے
 تندرستان همه زین واقعهٔ بیمار شود
 تو بخوابی و سرت یار گرفته بکنار
 چشم بختت بود آنروز که بیدار شود
 هر که چون نقطه نهد یک قدم از خود بیرون
 اندرین دائرۂ سر گشته چو پرگار شود
 اینهمه باده که بر جان معین پیمودی
 دل سر مستش از آن نیست که هشیار شود

On Divine knowledge

Apprised of His knowledge is he whose heart
 knows the secrets,
 That soul is the *soul* which becomes the seeker
 of the vision of God; .
 When the hidden treasure has come to the open
 mart,
 Blessed is the devotee who comes to the mart
 from his cell;

He sees His own face in my mirror,
 Himself for this reason is the seeker and the
 sought;
 The value of a jewel does not know but that
 jeweller,
 Who breaks the shell (of his body) and himself
 becomes a precious jewel;
 Lift the veil of dust and water from the face of
 the heart and soul,
 So that all the darkness of thy existence be turned
 into light;
 Whoever drinks the cup of Eternity in this
 assembly of existence,
 He holds the rope of union with God and ascends
 the scaffold;
 When the shadow of the face of the cup-bearer
 falls into the wine-cup,
 Even a devotee turns his face towards the tavern
 and becomes a drunkard;
 Whomsoever the curls of thy locks ensnare,
 He breaks the rosary and takes to the *Brahma-*
 nical cord;
 What is this secret which comes out of the
 curtain,
 That the hearts of the unmindful become aware
 of it?
 That is to say, with that kindness and favour
 which my lord bestows on me,
 It is no wonder if the slave becomes a sinner;

If thou comest on a morning to inquire after
 thy patient,
 The healthy, wistful for this event, will all
 become sick;
 Thou art asleep and thy head is placed in the
 lap of thy beloved,
 It will be a fortunate day for thy eye when it
 will awake;
 Whoever puts his step like the dot outside his
self,
 He wanders in this circle like the compass;
 From the effect of all this wine that thou hast
 given to Mu'in,
 His drunken heart will not emerge.

وله

راه بکشی که دل میل به بالا دارد
 پرده بر گهر که جان عزم تماشا دارد
 باز دل از شوفِ قصر ازل کرد نزول
 باز پرواز کنان میل همانجا دارد
 دام از عینِ عدم رفته سوی قافِ قدم
 صعوه را بین که هوس صحبتِ عنقا دارد
 من اگر خود نرمم او کشم جانبِ خود
 هم از آن سلسلهٔ عشق که باما دارد
 که بخود خواند و گاهی ز خودم می راند
 آه ازین غمزه که با عاشق شیدا دارد

حسنش اندر پس صد پرده چنین جلوه گر است
 ده از آن روز که آن چهره هویدا دارد
 گر چه از جای برون است و لیکن بخدا
 که شب و روز درون دل ما جا دارد
 عاقبت چهره دلداری عیان خواهد دید
 هر که آئینه ز زنگار مصفا دارد
 حسن آن ماه چو خورشید پدید است معین
 محرم آنست که او دیده بینا دارد

Open the way, for the heart is inclined to soar
 to the higher regions,
 Lift the curtain, for the soul desires to come to
 the *show*;
 Again, the heart has descended from the heights
 of the mansion of Eternity,
 Again, soaring it has the inclination to go there;
 My heart from non-entity has gone towards
 Eternity,
 Look at the small bird which desires to associate
 with the phoenix;
 If I do not go myself, He draws me towards
 Himself,
 It is because of the relation of love that exists
 between Him and me;
 Sometimes He calls me near Himself, and some-
 times drives me away,
 Woe to this coquetry which the Beloved shows
 to the lover;

His beauty from inside a hundred curtains is well
 manifest,
 What a happy day will it be when that Face will
 appear without a veil!
 Although He is above place, yet I swear by Him
 That He has His place within my heart day and
 night;
 Ultimately he will see the face of his Beloved
 clearly,
 Who keeps the mirror of his heart clean from
 rust;
 The beauty of that Moon appears as bright as
 the sun, O Mu'in,
 He knows it who has the eye to see.

وله

هر کسے را در ازل رزقے مقدر کرده اند
 وز برآے هر کسے کارے مقرر کرده اند
 عشق را آمیزشے دادند با جان و دام
 پیش ازل کب و گل آدم مختصر کرده اند
 عاشقان را زین پیرویان بزنجیر بلا
 اینچنین دیوانه زلف معنبر کرده اند

.....

ساقی باقی دهد در زم. جان جام طهور
 هر دلے را کز غبار تن مطهر کرده اند
 فی بکام دل همی گنجد نه اندر جام جان
 باده کز بهر سر مستان بساغر کرده اند

بر تو نور شهود افتاد در قصر وجود
 کز شعاعش حجره دل را منور کرده اند
 یا رب این معنی جان یا صورت جانان ملست
 آنچه کز وی خانه دل را مصور کرده اند
 عکس نور ذات بر مرآت جان شد منعکس
 زین مرآیا نیکه با حسنش برابر کرده اند
 سر بسر ذرات عالم مظهر انوار اوست
 جمله را آئینه دار حسن دلمر کرده اند
 جان ز مهرش عاقبت پیروز پرد زین دام تن
 گرچه مرغ روح را بے بال و پیر کرده اند
 جان که باشد تا کند عزم زمیں بوسی و لیک
 ذره را سر گشته خورشید انور کرده اند
 گرچه شاهان را به تخت و تاج زینت می دهند
 جلوه مسکین معین بر تاج و منبر کرده اند

For every one they have ordained his provision,
 And for each they have allotted a work;
 They mingled love with the heart and the soul,
 Before they prepared the clay of Adam by mixing
 water and earth;
 They have enchained the lovers with the chain
 of distress—the chain of the fairies,
 For this reason the lovers have become mad
 after the musky locks;
 The Eternal cup-bearer gives the pure wine, in
 the assembly of the soul,
 To every heart whose body's dust they have

washed off clean;
Neither is it contained in the palate of the heart
nor within the cup of the soul,
The wine that they have poured into the cup for
the drunkards;
A radiance of the light of His Manifestation has
fallen on the *mansion of existence*,
From the rays of which they have illumined the
cell of the heart;
O God, is it the hidden soul or the exposed face
of my beloved?
What is that from which they have adorned the
cell of the heart?
The image of the glory of His Being is reflected
in the mirror of my soul,
Passing through all these mirrors which they
have kept facing His beauty;
All the particles of the Universe are the expres-
sions of His glory,
All of them have been made a *mirror-bolder* to
the beauty of the Beloved;
The soul in the end flies out of the net of the
body on account of His love,
Although they have made the bird of the soul
without wing and feather;
What courage has soul to kiss the earth? But the
fact is that
Every particle is mad after the light of the efful-
gent sun;

Although the kings are exalted with the crown
and the throne,
Yet the glory of poor Mu'in shines over crown
and mitre.

وله
من چکریم کہ مرا ناطقہ مد ہوش آمد
بر دلم ضابطہ عقل فراموش آمد
سیل را نعرہ ازا نیست کہ از بکر جداست
وانکہ با بکر در آمیختہ خاموش آمد
نکتہا دوش دلم گفت و شنید از لب یار
کہ نہ ہرگز بزبان رفت نہ درگوش آمد
شاہدِ غیب کشاد است نقاب از رخ خویش
تو نہ مکرم از آن بہر تو دیوش آمد
زاهد از کوی مغاں پای کشیدہ امشب
بقدم رفتہ در آن کوچہ و بردوش آمد
شبِ ہجر تو کہ جان از بدنم کرد و داع
دزد وصل تو دگر بارہ در آغوش آمد
سخن تلخ کہ چون می بلبت می گذرد
بو حریفان ہمہ زہراست و مرا نوش آمد
چہ گہرہاست کزین سینہ برون می دیزند
بکر اسرار الہی ست کہ در جوش آمد
ہر کراہوش و قرار است میسِ دہ ساقی
کہ معینی ز ازل بیخود و مد ہوش آمد

What should I say now that my power of speech
has bewildered me,

The laws of wisdom have forgotten my heart;
The torrent roars, because it is separated from
the sea,
The one united with the sea became silent ;
Some thoughts of wisdom my heart uttered last
evening: it heard them spoken from the lip
of the beloved,
They were such as were never uttered by the
tongue nor heard by the ear;
The Divine beloved has lifted off the veil from
His face,
Thou art not a confidant: it is for this reason that
He appeared with His face covered before thee ;
The devotee has withdrawn his step from the
lane of the Magis tonight,
He had gone there on foot, but returned on the
shoulders of others;
It was on the night of separation from Thee that
my soul left the body,
But it came back once again in my lap on the
day of union with Thee;
Bitter words that pass like wine on thy lips,
They are poison to the rivals but honey to me;
What pearls are they that are thrown out of this
breast!
It is the ocean of the secrets of God, which has
grown stormy;
Whoever is sane and sober give him wine, O
cup-bearer,

But Mu'in has come intoxicated and drunk from Eternity.

وله

سوی من آ که ترا یار وفادار منم
هر چه داری بمن آرد که خریدار منم
گر تو شادی و دلت عزم تماشا دارد
بر من آئی که باغ و گل و گلزار منم
و گر از رنجِ معاصی دل تو گشته ملول
سوی من آ که طیبِ دلِ بیمار منم
بیدلی کم کن و از بیکسی خویش منال
که ترا در همه جا داور و دادار منم
تو بهر معرکه از رازِ دل خویش مگوی
که بخلوتکه جان محرمِ اسرار منم
تا بکے نقطه صفت دائره می بنمائی
تو چو مرکز بنشین گردِ تو پرگار منم
هیزم شخصِ معینِ سوخت چنان ز آتش عشق
که شدم آخگر و گفتم که مگر نار منم

Come towards me, for I am thy faithful friend,
Whatever thou hast, bring it to me, for I am its purchaser;

If thou art pleased and thy heart wishes to see the great feat,

Draw near me, for I am the garden, the flower and the flower-bed;

And if thy heart is grieved at the thought of thy sins,

Come towards me, for I am the physician of the
 sick hearts;
 Do not be disheartened and do not weep at thy
 helplessness,
 For I am in every place the cherisher of thy
 heart and a friend;
 Do not divulge the secrets of thy heart at every
 strife,
 For I am thy confidant in the secluded cell of
 thy soul;
 How long wilt thou, like the point, make a circle
 round thee?
 Sit like the centre, for I am around thee a com-
 pass;
 The dry wood of the body of Mu'in did so burn
 with the fire of love
 That he became a spark, and said to himself:
 "Methinks I am fire."

وله

صفات و ذات چو از هم جدا نی بینم
 بهر چه می نگرم جز خدا نی بینم
 مگو که دیده حادث قدیم کی بیند
 همین بس است که من خویش را نی بینم
 ترا چو آئینه تیره است و چشم نا بینا
 مخور نسوس که من هم چرا نی بینم
 ز من مپرس که آن ماه را کجا دیدی
 چو من ز خویش برفتم کجا نی بینم

بهر بلا که تو خواهی بیا از مای مرا
 که در مشاهده تو بلا نمی بینم
 ز من بهر چه کنی یاد راضیم حقا
 که هر چه از تو رسد جز عطا نمی بینم
 بهر طرف که مرا می بری بکند الله
 که خویش را ز تو یکدم جدا نمی بینم
 عروج جان معینی بر ادج او ادنی م
 بجز متا بعت مصطفی نمی بینم

The *Self* and the *Attributes* since I do not see
 them separate from each other,
 On whatever I cast my glance I see nothing but
 God;
 Do not say that the mortal eye cannot see the
 Immortal,
 It is enough that I do not see my *self*;
 Since thy mirror is unclean and thy eye is blind,
 Do not be sorry that thou dost not see;
 Do not ask me "Where did I see that moon?"
 When I have gone beside myself, where do I
 not see it?
 With whatever calamity Thou wishest Thou
 mayst try me,
 For in seeing Thee I do not see calamity;
 Whatever Thou desirest of me I am most willing,
 O God,
 Because whatever reaches me from Thee I see
 nothing but a gift;

In whatever direction Thou carriest me I praise
Thee,
For I do not see myself separated from Thee
for a moment;
The ascension of the soul of Mu'in to the height
of nearness to God,
Except in following the Chosen Prophet I do not
see.

وله

بخود هم ناظر و منظور باشم	چو من از هستی خود دور باشم
درا باشد که من مخمور باشم	چو جام و باده و ساقی مهیاست
که در دار فنا منصور باشم	ز جام وحدتم یک جرعه بخش
بز آید بر زبان معذور باشم	از آن جامیکه چون سر انا الحق
چو ذره مظهر آن نور باشم	ز تاب عکس خورشید حقیقت
همان بهتر که من مستور باشم	ندارد تاب نور چشم خفاش
عجب نبود اگر مشهور باشم	ز شهر عشق می آید معینی

When I keep away from my *self*,
I am myself the beholder and the beheld;
When the cup, the wine and the cup-bearer are
at hand,
It is befitting for me to be intoxicated;
Give me a draught from the cup of Unity,
So that in this transitory world I may become
a second Mansūr;
Give me from that cup with which the secret of
anahāq (I am God)

May come upon my tongue, and I be excused;
 From the light of the reflection of the sun of
 Reality,
 I may, like the atom, become an expression of
 its glory;
 The eye of the bat cannot bear the light,
 It is better then that I remain hidden;
 Mu'in is coming from the city of love,
 It were no wonder if he becomes famous.

وله

این درد که من دارم باکس نتوان گفتن
 سوز دل عاشق را با خس نتوان گفتن
 پیش دل خود که که درد تو هستی گفتم
 دل نیز دمید از من زین پس نتوان گفتن
 بر دار دلم از تن تا صید کنم جان را
 شهباز همایون را کر گس نتوان گفتن
 بیمار لب لعلت بر بستر خون خسپید
 بالین غریبان را اطلس نتوان گفتن
 تقصیر بے دارم پیش تو دلم عییم
 در دریم اگر گوی در پس نتوان گفتن
 سر غم عشقش را با خلق معین کم گوی
 احوال سلاطین را با کس نتوان گفتن

This pain which I possess cannot be divulged to
 any one,
 The burn of the heart of a lover cannot be dis-

closed to a straw;
 Before my own heart, off and on, I used to dilate
 upon thy love,
 But the heart too was scared away from me;
 this tale hereafter cannot be renewed;
 Pluck my heart from the body, so that I may
 hunt the soul,
 The auspicious royal hawk cannot be called a
 vulture;
 The one, sick for thy ruby lip, sleeps on a bed of
 tears of blood,
 The pillow of the poor lovers cannot be said to
 be silky;
 I have many shortcomings in my service to thee,
 but my faults—!
 If thou sayst them in my face thou canst not tell
 them behind my back;
 Mu'in, speak little of the secrets of the pangs of
 thy love for him,
 The affairs of the kings cannot be communicated
 to every one.

وله

دلا چو محرم آن دایر یمنانه توئی قضا چو تیر بلا می زند نشانه توئی
 و گر نروزد کانون عشق آتش شوق شراره که بر یزد از آن زبانه توئی
 تنم چو دائره و نقطه درمیانه دلم و یا چو دائره او نقطه درمیانه توئی
 بگفتم از چه بهانه تو در حجابی گفت وجود تست حجاب من و بهانه توئی
 همای عشق بدام حدوت کی گنجد چو مرغ خانگی در قید آب و دانه توئی

چو حلقه منتظری بر در و نمی دانی که طالبِ خودی و در درونِ خانه توئی
معین بر آی به منبر بگوی نکته عشق که بلبلِ چمنِ عشق در زمانه توئی

O heart, since thou art the confidant of that
unique beloved,

Of Destiny, when it shoots the arrow of distress,
thou art the mark;

And if the furnace of love set the fire of longing
ablaze,

Thou art the spark that it would give out;

My body is like a circle and the heart is its centre,

Else, my heart is a circle and thou art its
centre;

I asked him, "What is the cause that thou dost
remain within the curtain"? He replied,

"Thy existence is my curtain and thyself the
cause";

How could the mortal net contain the phoenix
of love!

When like a tame bird thou art living in a cage
for food and water;

Like a circle thou art waiting at the door, and
dost not know

That thou art thy own seeker and art present
inside the house;

Mu'in, come to the pulpit and dilate on the sub-
tlety of love,

Because in this age the nightingale of the garden
of love art thou.

قصیده در حمد

حمدیکه هسچو بحر کرم بیکران بود
 حمدیکه شکر نعمت هر دو جهان بود
 حمدیکه در تفاعیل ذر ات کائنات
 چندانکه مستزاد کنی بیش از آن بود
 حمدی بدان مثابه که ادراک کنه او
 بر تر ز پایۀ خرد خورده دان بود
 حمدیکه چون عمارت عزت کند روان
 بر منکب ملانکه حکمش روان بود
 حمدیکه در هوای هویت همای وار
 بر تختگاه ملک قدم سائبان بود
 حمدیکه ظل را فتش از بر کسے فتد
 بر مسند مقاصد خود کامران بود
 حمدیکه چون ز حیطه جان سر برون کند
 هر نار موی بر تن از آن صد زبان بود
 حمدیکه چون قدم کشد از ضیق کن فکان
 جو لا نکش بنا حیت لا مکان بود
 حمدیکه چون زبان دهدش زیور بیان
 تکسین قدسیان همه نعم الیهان بود
 حمدیکه در هواش ملائک فکنده پر
 آن خود چه جای حوصله انس و جان بود
 حمدیکه نه ملک کند انشانه انس و جان
 بل خود بذات خود متمدنی آن بود

بلدا نثار بارگه قدس کبریا
 کل مصعد محامد قدوسهاں بود
 آن حمد نا قصیده بمویند بندگان
 کی در خور خدای حق عز و شان بود
 لا احمی ست هست تکفۀ خالص دران جناب
 این گفتگو چه لایق آن آستان بود
 در اوج کبریاں نگندست بال عجز
 آن شاهباز قدس که عرش آشیان بود
 او بے نشان مکض چه چوئی از آن نشان
 هر ذره بر خدائی او صد نشان بود
 چشت چو نیست پرده ز رخ کی بر افکند
 صاحب نظر کجاست که او خود عیان بود
 آنرا که پرده ها ز نظر بر گرفته اند
 در صد هزار پرده دیگر نهان بود
 حقاً که کوشش تو بجائے نمی رسد
 گر بینش ز جانب او هر زمان بود
 سد وجود بشکن اگر مرد این رهی
 ورنه هزار ساله ره اندر مهان بود
 او بود در ازل متحد که در وجود
 جز وے نبود و تا به ابد همچنان بود
 از مطلع وجود چو نور قدم بتافت
 از ظلمت حدوث چه نام و نشان بود
 تا حسنش از دریچه هستی نمود رخ
 زمین گفتگو بهر سر کو داستان بود

ز آئینه وجود نماید بآب و خاک
 آن صورتیکه معنی روح روان بود
 در نقطه گاه خاک مبین جز باعتبار
 کل مرکز مکان ز هفت آسمان بود
 اندر دهان خاک نهد نفس ناطقه
 تا از زبان غیب ترا ترجمان بود
 گنجیکه شاه عشق نهد در دل خراب
 نقد دو کون در عوض رایگان بود
 هر هفت دوزخ از تف دل یک شراره ایست
 هر هشت خلد یک گل ازین بوستان بود
 دیو و ملک به نقطه دل در تنازع اند
 چون سعد و نحس کش بفلك اقتراں بود
 عقل و هوا فرشته و دیوند در نهاد
 با جسم و جان نشان بمثل تو آسان بود
 جانرا مدد ز حکمت و تن را ز شهوت است
 نقصان این مقوی و رجحان آن بود
 کم خوردن است مایه حکمت دران قرای
 سود دل است گرچه تنف رازیان بود
 تن مرکبی است بسته بر آخور ز بهر رزم
 آن به که روز معرکه لاف میاں بود
 دل چیست دُر بحر صفا وان کرا سزد
 آنرا که چون صدف همه تن استخوان بود
 جان چون مسیح گر دهد از مهد مریم
 با روح قدس تا به فلک همنان بود

هر کس که با بدامن همت کشد چو کوه
 از تند باد حادثه اندر امن بود
 وانرا که دل بکف بود از مهر بهر دست
 دل همچو بکر باشد و کف همچو گل بود
 وانرا که دیده تر بود از آتش درون
 چون آب بر بساط جهان در نشان بود
 در محنت فراق چو دل میزود ز دست
 در اذیت وصال ببین تا چسبان بود
 از ذره ذره اهن بچکد قطره قطره خون
 با هر دایکه عشق تو در امتحان بود
 هر مرهه ز غیر تو بر دل جراحت است
 زخمیکه از تو میسر سد آرام جان بود
 یا رب بحق سید کونین مصطفی^۲
 کش جسم و جان خلاصه کون و مکان بود
 شاهیکه تخت سلطنتش گزیدون زنند
 قدرش فراز مسکنت کن فکان بود
 آن خواجه کز حریم حرم تا فضای قدس
 گاه عروج نه فلکش نرد بان بود
 آن خرقه پوش فقر که بر درش عرشیان
 از گرد دامن کرمش طیلسان بود
 یاران اهل بیت که در دار ضرب عشق
 بر نقد دوستی رقم نام شان بود
 ز ایشان شنیده ام که ز لطف تو بندگان
 هر چه گمان برند یقین آن عیان بود

تو مید چوں شود دل و جان امیدوار
 جائیکه رحمت و کرم بیکران بود
 دارد معین برحمت حق منتهای تو
 امید از آن ز یاد که اندر گمان بود

He was the greatest lyric poet of his age. His style is exuberant and precise at once. His poems are a store-house of transcendental thoughts beautifully ordered and forcefully expressed. There is always a sense of pious serenity and joy in his verses which are teeming with Divine Love.

Of all the Persian poets of the Sūfī class, who wrote *ghazal*, like Sa'dī, Khusrau, Hasan, Hāfiz, Jāmi and others, his poetry closely resembles that of Hāfiz. But his wine, tavern, cup-bearer and the object of adoration are at the first sight celestial, unlike the latter's wine, rose, nightingale and the tresses of damsels, which expose the poet to public jeer as being the greatest free-thinker and libertine of the day. None of these words, however, in the Khwāja's poetry have their material significance, but are pregnant with great spiritual truth and are symbolic of Divinity and Divine Love.¹ The young lovers invariably find a solace in Hāfiz's poetry, be-

¹ Cf. his own statement:—

بیا بوعظِ معینِ رموزِ عشق شنو که از حرّیتِ او بوی دوست می آید

cause they read their own thoughts in his utterances. This is why Hāfiz is more appealing and popular.

Much controversy exists on the point whether Hāfiz's love is material or spiritual, and whether his roses are those of a flower-garden or they are only symbolic representation of Divine Beauty. The answer is that it is both. If we see and read Hāfiz with the eye and brain of a worldly lover, we find it full of مجاز but if we look at it with the perspective of a Sūfī, there is much حقیقت in it. This is the dual characteristic of Hāfiz. To those who hold that his love of God is expressed in terms of material love, his poetry provides real food, perhaps, more than does any other author after Rūmī. Sometimes, his language does not keep pace with his thoughts, and he becomes vague and hidden in the clouds of mystery. He paints, without distinction, every Divine and earthly thought in the light of human and worldly concept. Throughout his poetry he gives us a hint that he had so great a love for wine in his lifetime that he even desired the regular toppers to attend his grave after his death. He, thus, works on our minds in such a way that by his love for wine we generally understand the wine made and sold as merchandise. Again, his longings for the Persian girl, *Shākh-i-Nabāt*, whom he remembers with the ardour of a lover, are too well known. His early life was a free unrestricted life. He professed Sūfism in his later age but, though he became a Sūfī, one

could conclude from his odes that he has given expression to earthly love and pleasures. When Mubārizzuddīn Muḥammad bin Muẓaffar, who was a harsh and stern monarch, forbade the drinking of wine publicly in the streets of Shīrāz and ordered all the taverns to be closed, Hāfiz gave vent to his chagrin in many an ode¹; but when Shāh Shujā' raised all those restrictions which were imposed by his late father on drinking and profligate life, Hāfiz became very happy

¹ Cf. his lament and denunciation in the following *ghazal*:—

اگرچه باده نوح بخش و باد گلپیز است
 بهانگِ چنگ مخور می که مکتسب تیز است
 مرا حُئے و حریفه اگر بدست افتد
 به عقل کوه که ایام فتنه انگیز است
 در آستینِ مرقع پیاله پلهاں کن
 که همچو چشمِ مرا حی زمانه خونریز است
 ز رنگِ باده بشوئید خرقها از اشک
 که موسمِ دروغ و دروگار پرهیز است
 مجبورِ عیشِ خوش از دور واز گون سپهر
 که صافِ این سر ختمِ جمله دُردی آمیز است
 سپهر بر شده پرویزن است خوں افشان
 که قطره اش سر کسروی و تاجِ پرویز است
 عراق و پارس گرفتنی بشعرِ خود حافظ
 بیا که نوبتِ بغداد و وقتِ تبریز است

and expressed his gratification and joy in his poems.¹

The Khwāja's poetry and personality, however, are above suspicion and they have no such mystery about them. He was a Sūfī from first to last and his early life and occupation are blameless. His allegory is clear and is nothing but a straight talk. He does not sing of the worldly love which is full of anguish, torment and passion, but consecrates his mind to the holy love which is sublime and unalloyed, and discloses the real secret of life and the meaning of our existence. He takes his readers along with him solely to spiritual ecstasy and gives them a peep into

¹ Cf. his exultation:—

سکر ز هائِبِ غَیْمِ رسیدِ مژدهٔ بکوه
 که دور شاه شجاع است می دلیر بنوهِ
 شد آنکه اهل نظر بر کنارهٔ می رفتند
 هزار گونه سخن بر دهان و لب خاموش
 بیانگِ چنگ بگوئیم آن حکایتها
 که از نهفتن او دیگِ سینه می زد جوش
 شرابِ خانگی از بیمِ مکتسب خوردن
 بردی یار بنوشیم و بانگِ نوشا نوش
 ز کوی مهکدهٔ دوشش بدوش می بودند
 امام شهر که سجادهٔ می کشید بدوش
 رموزِ مصلحتِ ماکِ خسروان دانند
 گدای گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مخروش

the ethereal world. The more impressive trait of his poetry is a sturdy spirit of independence which is lacking in others, including Hāfiz. He never cringed before any Prince for reward. In the whole range of his poetical composition, there is not to be found a single *ghazal* or *qasīdah* in praise of any magnate, not even the Sultān himself. He was the master of a most dignified and magnificent style, although *love* and *wine*, the common symbols of Persian poetry, are equally the dominating feature of his composition. In a word, the Khwāja's wine is truly depicted in the following verse of his:—

مرا از قدحِ بادهٔ سرمدیست و زین بادهٔ مقصودِ من بپنودِ یست

The wine of Hāfiz is, however, uncertain; and though his poetry in manner and expression is exquisitely charming and sweet, it lacks the stamp and the fire of the Khwājah.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was a great patron of learning and Persian poetry. Badāūnī
 Literary patronage of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn bin Sām, surnamed "Shihābuddīn Ghōrī." observes as follows:—

۱ و علماء و فضلا و شعراء در زمان او بسیار تربیت یافتند

And in his time the learned, the accomplished masters and the poets received great patronage.

¹ Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 52.

From among the numerous poems addressed to him by the court poets, the following, *qit'āt* are here quoted, in which he is mentioned by name:—

سلطان معز دین شه غازی که در جهان
 تیغش چو ذوالفقار علی مرتضی شدست
 سلطان حق محمد سام آنکه خلق را
 مهرش چو مهر و درستی مصطفی شدست
 وله

شاه زمانه خسرو غازی معز دین کز دی فزرد زینت تاج و کلاه را
 اصل ظفر محمد بن سام بن حسین آن حضرتش نشانه شده فر شاه را

The slave dynasty had gained considerable power during the very lifetime of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Ghōrī. It so happened that the Sultān, on his retreat to Ghaznī in 586 A. H., had nominated a favourite slave of his, Qutbuddīn Aibek, to be his Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy of Indian possessions; and had deputed him against his adversary, Khandē Rāi, who was becoming a menace to Muslim power and rule in India. Khandē Rāi had defeated the Sultān's army in successive battles, and occupied the forts of Delhi and Meerut. Qutbuddīn finally collected a large and well-equipped army, and led it successfully against Khandē Rāi and his allies in 589 A. H. The same year he advanced on Meerut and Delhi, and recap-

tured them along with other territories. In 593 A. H., the Sultān's brother, Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, having died at the capital, the Sultān, who was then at Tūs, hurried to Ghaznī, and, after settling the affairs of his late brother's kingdom, started once more for Lāhore in 600 A. H. to put down the *Khakkar* rebellion. He was received at Lāhore by Qutbuddīn who had come on purpose from Delhi. The one noteworthy point, which emerges from history of interest to us, is that Persian men-of-letters had, at this time, volunteered themselves in considerably large numbers to accompany the Sultān's forces to India from Tūs, Nīshāpūr and the capital seats of Ghōr and Ghaznī, which were the resorts of the elite and poets of Persia. Many were actuated by religious fervour, while others aimed at gaining the favour of the Sultān, and reaping the benefit of his company, and to return home enriched with the spoils of war or settle down peacefully in the new home if convenient. This process assuredly kept up the same standard of Persian speech and poetic taste among the peoples of Hindūstān as was obtained during the time of Maḥmūd. The Sultān, after quelling the rebellion at Lāhore, returned to Ghaznī. On his way back, he was murdered by a *Khakkar* assassin on the 3rd of Sha'bān, 602 A. H., at Damyak, a place about seven miles from Ghaznī. The court poets in attendance composed off-hand the following chronogram giving the date of his

demise:—

شهادت ملک بحر و بر شهاب الدین کز ابتدای جهان هم چو او نیا یدیک
سوم ز غرقه شعبان بود شش صد و دو فتاده در دره غزنین بمنزل دمیک

On the Sultān's death, the nobles of the court Qutbuddīn's patronage of letters. Aibek to succeed his master, and seated him on the throne at Lāhore in 602 A. H. To greet him, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Maḥmūd, a nephew of the late king, sent a special envoy from his capital Fīrūzkūh to Lāhore, with royal presents and a bejewelled ivory casket containing a Decree of formal recognition of the proud title of the *Sultān*. Aibek kept up the cultural tradition of his master. For his liberal patronage of Persian letters, which was manifest from the huge gifts of money to his poets, sometimes a *lac* (of rupees) for a single ode, he was called نک بخشش (bestower of a *lac*)¹.

¹ Cf. the following quatrain by Imām *Malik ul Kalām* Bahā'uddīn Ooshī, mentioning the Sultān's نک بخشش, and asserting that it was he who introduced into the world the practice of giving rewards of not less than one *lac* of coins to his poets:—

ای بخشش لک تو بجهان آورده کان را کف تو کار بجان آورده
از شک کف تو خوش گرفته دل کان بس لعل بهانه درمیان آورده

Qutbuddīn met his death while playing *chaogān*
(polo) in Lāhore in 607 A. H.

His death.

Among his successors, the most notable for literary patronage, more especially Persian poetry, were Sultān Shamsuddīn *Illutmish*, popularly called *Altamash*, Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Sultān 'Alā'uddīn, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans¹: the Junior and the Senior.

After Qutbuddīn's death, his eldest son, Ārāmshāh, ascended the throne at Delhi in 607 A. H. But the nobles of the court desired the crown for Shamsuddīn, surnamed *Altamash*, who was a favourite slave and son-in-law of the deceased king. Consequently, a fight ensued between the two rival factions, in which Ārāmshāh was defeated and taken prisoner by Altamash, who duly proclaimed himself king, and caused the *Khutbah* and the coin to be read and struck in his name for the valid recognition of his kingship.

He was called *Illutmish* which was dubbed as *Altamash* in the popular tongue. His birth had taken place at night exactly at the hour of the eclipse of the moon. The Tārtars generally called the child born

¹ A discussion on the progress of Persian literature under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans is to be found in chapter V, dealing with Khusrau, Hasan and Barnī.

in such circumstances by that name. Hence this appellation.

It has been shown how the liberalities of the Muslim kings and their patronage of Persian letters had drawn the Persian intelligentsia from the distant corners of Persia, Bukhārā and the Trans-Caspian Provinces to Hindūstān. The same conditions of literary advancement and taste as obtained in the Ghaznavid and the Ghōrī regimes continued under the Slaves as well.

Among the poets who newly arrived from Persia at the Indian Capital in the reign of Altamash, there were many distinguished personages who had left their homes, being attracted by the superior patronage and taste of the Indian court. The one most noted poet was Nāṣirī who came from Khurāsān. He brought with him a marvellous *qas̄īdah* in praise of the Sultān, and recited it in the open court before a distinguished gathering of poets and scholars of the time. It began thus:—

ای فتنه از نهیب تو ز نهار خواسته تیغ تو مال و ملک ز کفار خواسته

O thou, terror of anarchy terrified has sought
shelter from thee,

Thy sword has wrested the territory and wealth
from the infidels.

It elicited the highest praise from the audience, and was much appreciated by the Sultān himself, who asked the poet to count its lines which were declared to be *fifty-three* in number. The Sultān, thereupon, ordered *fifty-three thousand* coins to be awarded to the poet as his reward. It is related that Nāsiri, on his arrival in India, went first to Khwājah Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Ooshī, *al ma'ruf ba 'Kākī*, a learned Sūfī, who had accompanied Khwājah Mu'in-uddīn Chishtī to India, and showed him the *qasīdah* seeking his *islāh*¹ and benediction². Nāsiri was the leading poet of Khurāsān, who came away to India, not because of his fondness for travel, as told by some Persian chroniclers, but because of superior appreciation and patronage of Persian poetry obtained in India as compared with Persia. Not only Nāsiri, but many other poets before and after him came down to India, and prospered under Indian patronage. Āzar gives Nāsiri's full name as Khwājah Abū Naṣr and his native place Mahnah, a Tahsīl in the district of Khurāsān. He was a direct descendant of the famous saint and Sūfī poet, Shaikh Abul Khair Abū Sa'id, and had a gift for poetry. Some of his verses are found recorded in the Persian biographical works. The following *qit'a* is quoted by Āzar:—

¹ Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 51.

² Fawā'id ul Fuwād, p. 74.

از زود رفتنت همه روز است ماتم روز دیر آمدن همه شب ماتم دگر
 ترسم اگر حکایت غمهای خود کنم غمگین شوی ازین غم و این هم غم دگر

Another famous poet, Amīr Rūhānī Samarqandī,¹

2. Amīr Rūhānī of who had settled in Bukhārā, Samarqand. came to India during the rise of Changīz Khān, whose onslaughts and savage treatment of the Muslim divines and men-of-letters had established a reign of terror in Central Asia. Rūhānī arrived in Delhi in 622 A. H., and was received in audience by the Sultān on the recommendation of the grand *vazīr*. The first impression that he created of his greatness as a poet was through his epic poems and *qasā'id* which he composed in praise of the Sultān, describing the latter's conquests of the Province of Bihār and the forts of Ratanbhūr and Mandū in the years 622, 623 and 624 A. H. respectively. He was profusely re-

¹ He is called by 'Aufī تاج الکماء عطارد الثانی (the "Diadem of the Learned" and the "Second Mercury", cf.—

الاجل الافضل تاج الکماء عطارد الثانی ابوبکر بن محمد بن علی الروحانی

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 282)

Note:—The Persian equivalent for the Arabic عطارد is دیر, فلک, also called منشی فلک (the clerk or the *Munshī* of the sky). The planet Mercury, which is associated with *learning*, is represented as the Chief Secretary of the sky, who is responsible for all correspondence.

warded by the Sultān for these poems which were both historically and poetically important. Some specimen verses are cited below:—

خبر به اهل ساء بُرد جبرئیل آمین ز فتکنامۀ سلطان عهد شمس الدین
 که ای ملائکۀ قدس آسانها را بدین بشارت گوئید کلمۀ آمین
 که از بلاد ملا حد شهنشۀ اسلام کشاد بار دگر قلعۀ سپهر آئین
 شه مجاهد غازی که دست و تیغش را دران حیدر کرار میکنند تکسین

وله

قصۀ خویش از زبان قلم	کرده ام یاد در بیان قلم
رقم رنج گونیا بود آست	بر خطِ عمر من نشان قلم
با قلم تا قریں شدم بجهاں	روز من گشت چوں جهان قلم
ناگهان با تگر دفتر من	ز آن درشتی کند سنن قلم
که باواز نرم می ماند	نائم زار ناگهان قلم
گرچه پیوسته در میان ضرر	دارم نفع بیکران قلم
آخر احوال من نموید کس	پیش صاحب مکر زبان قلم
خواجۀ منصور بن سعید کز اوست	تیز بازار امتحان قلم
آن بزرگی که دارد از لفظش	بار انصاف کاروان قلم
چون بنان را سوار کرده بُد	مرکب او خجسته ران قلم
زو کفایت کند رکاب گران	پس بگیرد سبک عنان قلم
هر هنر عقل را چو بمارد	آشکارا کند نهان قلم

The third poet of repute among the court poets
 3. Tājuddīn Dabīr¹ of Sultān Altamash was Tāj-
 of Delhi. uddīn Dabīr who was a native
 of Delhi. His grandfather had come down to India
 during the reign of the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau
 bin Malik Shāh, and had joined the royal army.
 The young poet's father was born at Delhi, soon
 after the arrival of the family in 580 A. H. Among
 his ancestors no one was gifted with poetic taste
 like him. He lived till after the death of Sultān
 Ruknuddīn Firūz Shāh whose praises he sang in
 his *qasā'id*. He wrote several poems in commemo-
 ration of the conquests made by Altamash. The
 following *rubā'ī* was composed off-hand when the
 Sultān laid siege to the fort of Gwalior which fell in
 630 A. H., after seven months' stubborn resistance:—

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت از عون خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
 آن قلعه کالهور و آن حصن حصین در ستایه سنه ثلثین بگرفت

On this occasion, other poets of the court also
 presented poems, but the Sultān liked this *rubā'ī*
 most, and rewarded the poet with *seven bags* of sil-
 ver coins. The Sultān further ordered that the quat-
 rain be inscribed on a red marble which should be
 affixed to the main gate of the fort to commemorate

¹ Note :—The author of the "*Siyar us Sālikīn*" styles him Tājuddīn Shams Dabīr, and says that he was a teacher of Nizām-uddīn "Auliya", the famous saint of Delhi.

the date of the event. Tājuddīn's poems in praise of the Sultān's successor, Fīrūz Shāh, have also been referred to by historians. Of those extant, the following *qasīdah*, of which only the opening lines are here cited, is noteworthy for its elegance and impressiveness:—

مبارکباد ملکِ جاردانی ملکِ را خامه در عهدِ جوانی
یمین الدوله دکن الدین که آمد درش از یمن چون دکنِ یسانی

After Altamash, his son Ruknuddīn ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Fīrūz Shāh. The most famous poet of his reign was Shihābuddīn Mehmarah of Badāūn, the *poet-laureate* of the court. Shihābuddīn Mehmarah of Badāūn, whose *qasā'id* rivalled those of the leading poets of Persia like Farrukhī, Khāqānī, Anwarī and others. Amīr Khusrau, the king of poets, was proud of Mehmarah's exalted intellectual power, and paid a glowing tribute of praise to his memory in several *qasā'id* of which one is as follows:

در بدایوں مهمره سر مست بر خیزد ز خواب
گر بر آید غلغله مرغانِ دهلی زین نوا

Mehmarah's *qasā'id* are an eloquent testimony to India's genius and achievement in the art of Persian composition. Those preserved in the biographical works are, for the most part, ethical and spiritual, and are unsurpassed in sublimity of thought,

forcefulness of expression and grandeur, which are the essentials of a *qasidah*. It appears that 'Urfī, on his arrival in India, did, in his *qasā'id*, follow Mehmara's style of writing and trend of thought. Mehmara's nobility of character and his indifference to worldly success did not make him stoop to kings and sing their praises for money. The same spirit was shown by 'Urfī who, though he came away to India from Persia in search of fortune, did not take to panegyric like other poets, nor did he dote on Princes and the nobles of the court recklessly seeking reward.¹ The ideals of life and riches of mind pervading in Mehmara's *qasā'id* are abundantly found

¹ It is to be noted that 'Urfī in his poetical career in India wrote several panegyric poems in praise of the following *four* persons, whose patronage made him independent of others:—

1. Prince Jahāngīr, cf.—

صباحِ عید کہ در تکیہ گاہِ ناز و نعیم

2. Hakīm Abul Fath, cf.—

چہرہ پردازِ جہاں دخت کشد چوں بہ حل

3. 'Abdurrahīm Khān i Khānān, cf.—

ز آسمان و زمین مزدہ ناگہاں آمد

- and 4. Akbar, the Great, cf.—

ای دلِ معنی سرشت را زدنِ آفتاب

He called panegyric poetry *beggary*, and did not adopt it as a regular profession.

in 'Urfī also, who subsequently wrote *qasā'id* of the same length. Of Mehmara's *qasā'id* three are quoted here in full by way of specimen and contrast. The first is in praise of God and the Holy Prophet with a pun on the words موی and مور—a unique and clever device invented by the author. It is full of technicalities, which is a special feature of Khāqānī's writings:—

قصیده در حمدِ باری تعالیٰ عز اسمہ
و در نعتِ پیغمبر گوید
از زبان گرچه شگنم موی هفکامِ بیاں
در ثنای حق ز حیرت همچو مورم بے زبان
در پنی زنجیر مویان پریر و از توس
بسته ام بسیار چون موران ز دل جاں بر میان
وز برای مور چشمان شکر لب در خیال
سفته ام موی سخن صدوہ زردی امتکان
تا ذخیرہ با شدم چون مور اندر مدح او
مودو نیمہ کردم و یک موندید از کس نشان
بعد ازین چون مور بندم بر در بیچون کمر
در بن ہر موی تو فیتش کشایم صد زبان
کی کشایم بے زبان چون مور و چون ماشی دھن
بلکہ از ہر مو زبانے سازمش گوہر نشان
زین خطِ چوں مور و لفظِ شکرین از روی نظم
موی بشکافم بتوحیدِ خدای غیب دان

آن خداوندی کہ بر صنعتش بہر موی گو است
 ہرچہ هست از مور و مار و وحش و طیر و انس و جان
 آن یکی از روی ہستی نہ از عدد گاندہ در کون
 نیست بر علمش پئی موری سر موی نہاں
 لطفش از موری فتد بر بیضہ موری از آن
 صد جم آید ہر یکی صد ہم چو جم در یکز ماں
 قہرش از یک موی بر پیل گمارد پیل از آن
 بیند آن کز مور بیند بچہ شیر ژیاں
 می ننگند عقل را موی دریں از بہر چیست
 زادہ شیر توانا زادِ مور ناتواں
 نیست با حکمش سر موی مجالِ اعتراض
 در دہد ملک سلیمانی بمورے رایگان
 بودہ از حکمش موافق شکل شیر و مورچہ
 گشتہ از صنعتش مخالف رنگِ موی استخوان
 گر دد از فضلش کز ہر موی دارد آگہی
 آید از عدلش کہ ہر مور آید پاسباں
 خاک در کف کھیا و آب در دریا گہر
 مور در چشم از دھا و مو بر اعضا چون سناں
 ای بقدرت موی و خون و استخوان را نقش بند
 ای بر دزی مرغ و مور و مار و ماہی راضاں
 با تنِ ہر مور عدلت را حسابے بے غلط
 بر سر ہر موی فضلت را سپاسے بے کراں
 عینِ فضلت پانی مر دِ رزقِ ہر مور ملنہ
 دستِ لطفت رنگیز موی ہر پیر و جوان

خانۀ صنعت نمائد آنچه هست آثار او
 بر تن هر مور پیدا بر سر هر مو عیان
 خال بر چهر عروساں چوں نقط بر آینه
 موی بر روی شهاں چوں مور چه بر ارغواں
 گر سنه در ره بامر تست مور بے شکم
 سیر بر تن از عطائے تست موی بے رواں
 آنکه موئی سر نه پیچد از دوت بر در گهش
 گشت مور بے زباں چوں سوسار مدح خواں
 در دھت چوں مور بد بے خواب و بے خور لاجرم
 ماه را چوں مو دو نیمه کرد از تیغ بنان
 آیتی چوں صبح صادق مو شگاف اندر کلام
 امتش بر کز دمان دیں چو موران کامران
 هفت اندام چو سیم چرخ گشتی مورچه
 چوں بر افکندی ز مشکین مو پهایش طیلسان
 بد چو موران بر زمینش در طریق فقر زیست
 زان کم از موی مژه آمد بچشمش آسان
 اندراں موضع که پر چوں مور افکندی ملک
 گر سر موی نهادی پای پش از آشیاں
 مو صفت اندر شفاعت از سبک روحی چنانک
 از بی موری سر موئی برو نامد گران
 بر خطا رفت از بی موری نمودش معذرت
 بے عطا ماند از سر موی نشد هم داستاں
 یک سر مو اندراں شب دید نورانی سراي
 هم چو موروش سر بر آمد در هوا، لا مکان

دیده اندر لقمه چربِ جهان موی فنا
 راهِ معده بست همچون مور زین پرورده خوان
 زله برداری پئی مورانِ دیں زانسان که ماند
 بر سر هر موی زان لقمه نشانِ جاودان
 صانعاً هر موزبانے کرده ام لیکن چو مور
 در ثنات از بے زبانی می کنم در دل فغان
 کرده روشن کز بدی چون تار موی چشم مور
 بے جوارِ رحمتِ تو نکذرد این کاروان
 هم چو مور و مو در آب و آتشم زیرا که نیست
 این شکر ریز ضمیرم در خورِ این آستان
 پای کوشش در رهت چو موی دارم در رکاب
 تا زمن یک موی می ماند نگر دامن عنان
 چون کشاید یکسر موی از قبولت بسته ام
 کی کمر بندم چو مور از پیشِ حرصِ این و آن
 گرچه از دست هوا چو مور گشتم پایمال
 یکسر موی ندیدم جز ز تو سود و زیان
 چون ز تست این خوشدلَم گرچه پریشانست و تنگ
 دل چو چشم مور حالم همچو موی داستان
 مور اگر پای ملنح آورد پیشِ جمِ شهاب
 آمد از سر بر درت بسته چو موی پای جان
 مورِ خوانِ لطفِ تو صالح نمود این ره دو
 یاریش ده زان پل چو موی بر آتش امان
 بر سر هر موی او صد لطف داری زان سبب
 زو دل موری نیاز اَرَد بسوی در جهان

خِصْمِ مُلْكِ شَاهِ رَا بَابِ نَظَاهِشِ دَارِ بَدِ
هَسْچُو مَو دَرِ آتَشِ وَ چُونِ مَو دَرِ آبِ رَدَانِ

The second in praise of the Holy Prophet is as follows:—

قَصِيدَةُ غُرَا دَرِ نَعْتِ پَیْغَمْبَرِ صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّم
گوید

اَلْفَمِ بِلَوَحِ هَسْتَنِ هَمَّهٖ هَبِیْجِ دَرِ نَشَانِی
بِبَقَایِ غَیْرِ قَاوِمِ زِ وَجُوْدِ خَوِیْشِ فَاوِی
صَفِ اٰخِرِ اَیْسْتَادَهٗ بَاوَمِیْدِ بَهٗ نَشِیْنِی
زِ تَحْرُکِ اَرْمِیْدَهٗ بِصَفَاتِ بَیْ نَشَانِی
صَفَتِ اَلْفِ نِدَارَمِ کِهٖ اَلْفِ کَسْرِ نِدَارِدِ
هَمَّهٗ نَقْشِ مَنِ کَسْرِ اَسْتِ زِ صَکِیْفَهٗ اَمَانِی
دَمِ بِلَهْلِ اَسْتِ وَ گُلِ خَوْشِ مَنِ بَیْ خَرُو چُو سَوْسَنِ
چُو اَلْفِ زَبَانِ نِدَارَمِ چِهٖ کَنَمِ بَهٗ دَهٗ زَبَانِی
چِهٖ بَکِیْرَمِ اَرْمِیْدَهٗ چِهٖ دَرَمِ بَسَّی دَوِیْدَهٗ
چِهٖ بَدِیْنَمِ اَشْکَارَا چِهٖ دَرَمِ دَهٗ زَهٗ نَهَانِی
فَلْکِ اَزِ زَمِیْنِ بِکِیْلَتِ نَشَانَسَمِ اَرچِهٖ هَسْتَمِ
چُو فَلَکِ بِچِهْرَهٗ کَرْدِی چُو زَمِیْنِ بِنَارْدَانِی
نَهٗ چُو اَوَمِ اَزِ طَرَاوَتِ نَهٗ چُو اَتَشَمِ زِ رَنَعَتِ
نَهٗ چُو بَادَمِ اَزِ لَافَتِ نَهٗ چُو خَاکَمِ اَزِ گِرَانِی
نَهٗ اَزِیْنِ چِهَارِ طَبَعَمِ نَهٗ بَهٗ چَارِ پَارِ کَنِیْمِ
فَضْلَاتِ پَارَهٗ گِیْتِی زَدَهٗ لَافِ پَارِگَانِی

خردم چو تن گرفته صفتِ خطا ستانی
 طبعم چو کوه بسته کمرِ عطا ستانی
 شده وقفِ راهِ حرصم ز حقیقتِ آیتی نه
 زده رحمتِ مثالبِ ره رحمتِ مثنائی
 طبعم فریفت ز انسان که بهرد از نهادم
 حرکاتِ خمسِ خواری برکاتِ عشرِ خوانی
 گهرم چو جسم خالی ز تفکر و تذکر
 بصرم چو شمع مائل بغوانی و اغانی
 سخن آبدار خواهم ز زبان هیچو تیغ
 قلم نموده دهره ز پیِ دنوان ستانی
 سخن آب شد که آتش شد ازین حدیث آری
 بود این همه کم آبی ز هوای پیش نانی
 منم آن خسه کم از کم که بکبه نیز آرم
 دگرم جوئے بدانی نخوی برا یگانی
 عجب ای شهاب از تو که ز سلطنت درین راه
 نه امیر هفت خانه نه سوارِ هفت خوانی
 نه فرشته نه شیطان ز کدام کار گاهی
 نه مقیم و نه مسافر ز کدام آستانی
 دل و عقل سر کشیده ز گزندِ کورخانه
 بر سینه بر نهاده پیوندِ کورخانی
 ز هوس بروی عشرت شده مستِ لا ابالی
 ز هوا برآه نهمت زده گامِ کامرانی
 در عقل نیک بسته غم نازِ لاله عارض
 رگِ دیده خون کشاده پیِ جامِ ارغوانی

عَفْنِ هَوَاِ مِثَالِی ز مَن زَمِیْنِ نَظِیْرِی
 گَهِرِ عَرَضِ بَقَائِی صَدَفِ نَهِی دِهَانِی
 بُوْدَم چو بَرَقِ سَوْزَاں بِدِ نِیْکِ رَا فِسَوْنِی
 ز دَل چو سَنَگِ خَارَا تَر و خَشْکِ رَا فِسَانِی
 ز هَوَسِ بَطِیْعِ گِرْدَاں چو فَلَکَ بَهِ نَقْشِبَنْدِی
 ز صَبَا بَهِ حَرَصِ پُویَاں چوْنِ صَبَا بَهِ نَا تَوَانِی
 غَمِ هَفْتِ و چَارِ دَر دَل زَدَهِ هَر دَمِ اَز رَعَوْنِی
 دَر صَدِ هَزَارِ حَیْنَتِ بَادَاِیِ یَکَدِ و کَانِی
 چو زَمِیْنِ کَثِیْفِ دَاِیْمِ سَخْنَتِ بِمَاءِ گِرْدُوْنِ
 نَوَسِی بِسِیْرِ مَلْکِی ز مَقَامِ پَا سَبَانِی
 تُو خُودِ اَز سَرِ بَطَالَتِ نَوَسِیْدَهِ یَکَزَمَانِ سَهْمِ
 ز نَقِیْبُضْ زَمَانَهْ بَغْرِیْبُضْ زَمَانِی
 ز صِلَاحِ اَهْلِ دَلِ هَا خَبَرِیْتِ بَادِ یَکَرَهْ
 کِه دَرِیْنِ دُو کُوْنِ یَا رِی بَفْسَادِ دَا سْتَانِی
 کَرِی اَز دَلِ تُو زَاِیْدِ چو تَکَبَرِ اَز سَفَا هَتِ
 بِدِی اَز تِنِ تُو خَیْزَدِ چو تَهِوَرِ اَز غَوَانِی
 نِمِ کُورَهْ رِیَا ئِی دِمِ کُورَهْ جَفَا ئِی
 مَکَلِ رُوضَهْ هَوَانِی مَکَلِ حَوْضَهْ رَوَانِی
 بَکْضُورِ جَاں گِدَا زِی مَکَرِ اَز تَفِ تَمُوزِی
 بَهِ عَصِیْدِ بَرَفِ رِیْزِی مَکَرِ اَز دِمِ خَزَانِی
 تُو بِشَبَهْ طُفْلِ طَالِبِ هَمَهْ عَمِ نَقْشِ بَا طَلِ
 ز خِیَالِ کُردِ پِیُورَتِ غَمِ دَهِرِ دَرِ جَوَانِی
 هَوَسِ اَسْتِ شَعْرِ و بَکْهَرِشِ چو سَرَابِ زَا بِ خَا کِی
 نَفْسِ اَسْتِ رَنْجِ و نَوَقْشِ بَهِ اَز آْبِ زَنْدَا گَانِی

هوست چو جمع گردد شود آن خیال بازی
 نفست چو نظم یابد بود آن گهر نشانی
 هوسی خیال تا کے نفسی گهر فشاں کن
 به ثنای آنکه اول خردش ندید ثانی
 شه تخت کی محمد که سراق شرف زد
 بسوی دیر مهین ز سرای ام هانی
 بشری ملک لطافت فلکی زمین تواضع
 چو فلک به پاک جسی چو ملک به پاک جانی
 گهریکه بود جایش بخزانة الهی
 فمریکه تافت نورش ز سپهر جاودانی
 گهریکه قیمتی تر زو جود او نیامد
 بدالات عاصر ز محیط آسانی
 فمریکه هر سحر که چو شب سیاه گیتی
 ز خجالت عقیقش رخ کوکب یمانی
 شکریں زبان رسوله که بود نجات امت
 به قصیده زبانش ز عقیده زبانی
 گهریں بیان فصیح که فصاحت بیانش
 چو ضمیر کان کند خون دل گنج شایگانی
 ز جمال عارضش کم رخ آفتاب شرقی
 ز قول قامتش خم قد سرو بوستانی
 بکساب بر گرفته ره مالک ارقابی
 بکلام بر کشاده در صاحب القرآن
 جذبات شوق باطن بمکاشفت کشیده
 ز بسیط کائناتش بمحیط لا مکانی

بنوید دوستِ جانش شده مست بر امیدش
 پسر ابو قُکافه زده قُکافِ دوستگانی
 ربطی بنا فکنده سخنش قُضای حق را
 شده از پی سیاست عمرش بعدل بانی
 قدم سیوم درین ره ز پیش نهاده مردی
 که نزد غرور راهش بمتاعِ این جهانی
 شده رکنِ چارمینش علی آنکه بُد گه کین
 ز شعاع ذوالفقارِ رخِ مهر زعفرانی
 ملکا بحقِ یاران که مرا بیاری خود
 ز بلای یارِ ناناں همه عمر وارهانی
 زمن آنکه این قصیده طلبیده بادِ جانش
 چو قصیده ام مزین بجواهرِ معانی

A specimen of his panegyric poetry is to be found in the following *qaṣīdah* which was written in praise of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, with characteristic resourcefulness and pun on گرگ, درگ, شیر and فیل:—

قصیده غرا مرصع
 در مدح سلطانِ رکن الدین فیروز شاه
 بالتزامِ چهار چیزِ کرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر می فرماید
 هر زمان این کرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر و طفلِ خوار
 آن کند با من که پیل و کرگ وقتِ کارزار
 آسانِ پیلگونِ مالکِ تنم را کرگ سان
 روزگارِ شهروهنِ صبرم رباید گرگ دار

زورِ کرگم نی و با من تند پیل آسمان
 شیر مردی میکنند چون کهنه گرگِ روزگار
 پیل با کرگ آن نکرد و گرگ با میش آنچه کرد
 شیر چرخ از جور با این شخص چون موی نزار
 حیلتِ گرگست و زورِ کرگ با شیر فلک
 زان همیشه بر دل من درد بارد پیل وار
 پیل مستت این سپهرِ کرگ موی کرگ پوست
 مردم از شیر نر است از دی بر آرد هم دمار
 چرخِ کرگ انداز شیر افکن بازی گر چو کرگ
 پیش جان رستم آرد پیل بندے استوار
 کرگ صبرم بفکند بارانی از دی همچو شیر
 کرگ وارم بسپرد گر پیل این نیلی حصار
 شیر شریزه پیل فربه کرگ سیرت می کند
 جوشن صبرم چو چرم کرگ سازد تار تار
 دوش چون شد نیلگون شیر فلک در چرم کرگ
 سر برون زد یوسف از گرگانِ گردون بے شمار
 جانِ من در دستِ شیر و پای کرگ درد بود
 تا ز چرخ پیل پیکر شد دمِ گرگ آشکار
 چنگِ شیر و شاخِ کرگ و اشکِ پیل و موی کرگ
 گرچه در تعویذ دل بندگی بکار است این چهار
 کی کند سودم خواص شیر و کرگ و گرگ و پیل
 چون زمن زر پیل بالا خواهد آن سیمین عذار
 حلقه کرگ و دلِ شیر و دمِ گرگ چون نیست
 می روم با پیل بار غم باستقبال یار

در دهانِ شیر و پایِ کرگم و اینِ گرگِ پیر
 دَارِ دمِ پرِ اشکِ پیل از عشقِ یارِ چو نِگار
 یارِ با ششمیر و قهقهه کرگِ پویانِ همچو کرگ
 من چو پیلِ برِ پئی او با تنی مانندِ تار
 بعدِ گرگِ جوشنِ کرگِ سپهرِ پیلِ گون
 شیرِ گیرِ چرخِ پیدا شد چو شمعِ شهرِ یار
 رکنِ دنیا شاهِ پیلِ افکنِ بگوزِ شیرِ سر
 کز سَندِ کرگِ پویشِ کارِ برِ گرگست زار
 دیده‌یِ گرگِ فلک از شیرِ گزهِش رنگِ رنگ
 کوهه کرگِ زمین از پایِ پیلش غارِ غار
 پیلِ پیکرِ گزهِش از گرگانِ کندِ بیشه تهی
 کرگِ پویه چنگش از شیرانِ ستاند مرغزار
 دورِ باهیِ دسته کرگش در دلِ گرگِ سپهر
 گرگِ همچو پیلِ پایش کرده شیرانِ را نِگار
 از سرِ زُدِ پینِ شیرِ گرز او برِ گرگ و پیل
 آن رسد کز تیغِ روئین تنِ بهجانِ کرگسار
 ای ز شیرِ گرزِ کرگ اندازِ پیلِ آسای تو
 گورِ برِ گرگینِ بسانِ چاهِ بیژنِ تنگ و تار
 عکسِ تیغِ نیلگونت گر زنده برِ شیر و کرگ
 دیده چو عذابِ گرگانی کند شانرا چو نار
 بادِ شیرِ را یکتا بر خاکِ عالم چو و زد
 گرگِ مست از پیل و گرگ از میشِ خواهد زینهار
 چون تو گرزِ پیلِ پیکرِ گرگِ گدائی بکنند
 شیرِ دندانِ گرگِ ناخنِ زهره کرگ و مهرِ مار

کرگ حمله گرگ پیوه شیر زهره پیل تن
 رخس تست ای یل غلامت هسچو رستم صد هزار
 خسروا در مدح تو بر گرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل
 گشته ام نادر بامر صاحب چرخ اقتدار
 پیل تن شیر افکن گرزت اگر خواهد دهد
 کرگ را چون دم کرگس بر سر گردون قرار
 آن دزیری کز برای گو شال کرگ چرخ
 دل نهاده هسچو کرگ و پیل و شیر از اضطرار
 به نسون گرگ و زور کرگ عزمش می زند
 بر سر پیلان کرگ در دیده شیران شرار
 خورده در ملک تو شاه از پیل بند حزم تو
 شیر ظلم و گرگ مکرو کرگ فتنه زمینهار
 ای قدر قدرت بفرماں وی که از فر تو شاه
 چون قضا بر کرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیلی کامکار
 چرم و شاخ و موی و اشک از کرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل
 در ره جان و دل و طبع و زبان آید بکار
 از برای جوشن کفشت سپهر گرگ خوی
 اشک و چرم از پیل و شیر و کرگ چون کرد اختیار
 بر تو این گرگ کهن از پیل و شیر و کرگ از آن
 چرم هدیه پوست تحفه آورد دندان نثار
 کرگ ماده چپ دهد شیر نری را در شکون
 گر به پیش پیل کرگ اندازت آید در شکار
 پیل بخشا در بدایون بایدم ویرانه
 گرچه جای کرگ و کرگ و شیر باشد این دیار

تاکه شیر و پیل باشد در مہابت ہمقدم
 تاکه گرگ و کرگ باشد در عتابت یک شعار
 خصم گرگ افسونت ای کرگ افکن و پیل استناد
 بان پیش شیر دہلیزت میان خاک خوار
 همچو شیر و پیل و کرگ و کرگ در گر مابہا
 دشمنان بے جاں شدہ بر آخر سنگین قطار

After Firūz Shāh, his sister, Razīyah Sultānah
 Razīyah Sultāna's ascended the throne at Delhi
 regime. in 634 A. H. During her short
 regime, civil strife afforded her little opportunity
 to pay any serious attention to the advancement
 of literature and to watch its growth under her
 patronage. Nevertheless, scholars and poets thronged
 the *Darbār*, which ensured the development
 of Persian culture which was steadily permeating
 the very soul of India. Her rule was marked
 by the short-sighted and spendthrift policy of her
 counsellors, which offended the rank and file of the
 army and the civil services. But the chief factors
 which were responsible for her dethronement and
 imprisonment were not, however, so much her administrative
 faults as her openly showing favours
 to a slave named Yāqūt, and her discarding *purdah*
 and appearing in public in man's dress on ceremonial
 occasions. This caused wide-spread resentment in
 the country, and turned the 'Ulamā and the influential
 nobles against her.

She was succeeded by three successive rulers who all met the same fate one after the other, until the crown passed to Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Altamash, in 644 A. H. His reign is chiefly noted for the progress of historical literature and munificent patronage of Persian poetry. On his accession to the throne, a new coinage was struck and the *khutbah* was read in his name in accordance with the established practice of succession. The court poets in attendance wrote congratulatory poems to commemorate his coronation. Of the many poems composed and read, the following by the famous poet and author of the *Tabaqāt* is here quoted by way of specimen:—

¹ آن شهنشاهی که حاتم بذل و رستم کوشش است
 ناصر دنیا و دین محمود بن التتمش است
 آن جهاندار که سقف چرخ از ایوان او
 در علو مرتبت گوئی فرو دین پوشش است
 فرق فرقد سادر است و دست و پای دولتش
 فر تاج است و نگین و زین تخت و بالش است
 سکه راز القاب میبوشن چه انداز است فخر
 خطبه راز اسم هایونش چه مایه نازش است

¹ *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri*, p. 202.

راحتِ دلهاست روحِ عهدِ او با روحِ خلق
 بندگیِ دودمانش زانکه در . آمیزش است
 چاکرِ ایوانِ او هر جا که ترک و تازی
 بندهٔ فرمانِ او هر جا که هند و گبرش است
 وارثِ ملکِ بحقِ دیدش ز سلطانِ شمسِ دین
 هر که از انصاف در چشمِ بصیرتِ بینش است
 دولتش حساد را در هر زمان صد شومت است
 مولتش احباب را در هر مکان صد را مش است
 گرچه بشگفتش گلِ دولتِ ولّی از صد یکی
 چون نهال است او که باغِ ملک را نو بالش است
 قیغِ زنگارِیش چون شنکرفِ ریزِ آملِ مطیع
 شاخ و برگِ نقشبِ عمرِ دشمنان در ریزش است
 از نهیبِ زخمِ گرزِ گاؤِ سارِش بین که چون
 راکبِ شیرِ فلک در لرزه و در تابش است
 تا نوای بزمِ ملکش راست شد زیرِ اوفتاد
 حاسدِ اندرِ چنگِ غمِ چون زیرِ زل در نالش است
 کاهِ گشت از انقلابِ جورِ بادِ آیینِ چو کوه
 در پناهِ عهدِ عدلش چون که هر آرامش است
 ای شهنشاهی که ذیلِ عفو و دستِ بذلِ تو
 محکوم و محتاج را هم پوشش و هم پاشش است
 بیست سال است تائه منہاجِ سراجِ خسته را
 در دعاگوئیِ آیینِ حضرتِ فرازِ پاشش است
 از برای نصرت و تائیدِ شاه و بندگانش
 در و غادرِ کوشش است و در دعا در خواهش است

مکهورِ چرخِ جلالت بادِ خاکِ در گهت
 ناکه خاک و چرخ در آرامش و در جنبش است
 گردشِ اهلِ زمین بر وفقِ فرمانِ تو باد
 تا بروجِ آسمان گردِ زمین در گردش است

A most important historical work, written in India during his reign and dedicated to him, was the *Tabaqāt*, which was called after his name *Nāsirī*,¹ by the grand Qāzī of Hindūstān, Abū ‘Umar bin Muḥammad al Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī. It begins from the earliest times and concludes with his reign during which the author lived. The portion which deals with the author’s age is particularly valuable inasmuch as it throws ample light on the events of this period which, but for this work, would have remained much in darkness.

The author’s grandfather, Minhājuddīn ‘Uṣmān, popularly known as Imām Aḥad Bukhārī, was a man of great piety and learning. He had, in his later life, settled in Sistān where he breathed his last. The author’s father, Minhājuddīn Sirāj, who was equally a distinguished scholar and a most eloquent speaker in Persian, held the high office of the *Qāzī*

¹ Cf:— و این تاریخ در قلم آمد و بالقابِ همایون و اسمِ میمون او
 موشع گشت و نامِ این طبقاتِ نامری نهاده شد -

of the army of Hindūstān for over eleven years under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām. Our author's birth took place in about 590 A. H., and the present work was undertaken by him in 657 A. H., and completed in a little less than two years' time towards the end of 658 A. H.

The author of the *Akbbār-ul-Akhyār* places our historian among the great Sūfis and the learned divines of the age, and states that the famous saint of Delhi, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn *Auliya*, used to attend the Qāzī's sermons regularly every week, and find much spiritual food in them.¹ It is a peculiarity of this work that it was written by a pious man

¹ Cf:—

صاحبِ طبقاتِ نامری بزرگ بود و از فاضل روزگار از اهل وجد و
سماع بود - چون قاضی شد این کار استقامت گرفت - شیخِ نظام‌الدین
می فرماید که من هر دوشنبه در تذکیر او برفتمی تا روزی در تذکیر او
بودم این رباعی بگفت :

لب بر لبِ لعلِ دلبواں خواهی کردن
واهنگِ سر زلفِ مشوخی کردن
امروز خواهی است لیک فردا خواهی نیست
خود را چو خسی طعمه آتش کردن

من چون این بیت شنیدم بیخود گو نه گشتم ساعتی بایست تا بخود
باز آمدم -

of learning who found it worth his while to devote his time and energy to a chronicle of this nature. European critics generally consider it to be a most trustworthy record in existence, and the integrity and care with which the events have been described have impressed them very much. Captain Nissau Lees observes:—

What is related is, doubtless, taken from the authorities considered most trustworthy at that early period, authorities some of which are no longer extant; and it will be interesting and satisfactory to this society to hear that the author supports their opinion of Baihakī as a historian.

The same view of his work is held by Sir H. M. Elliot, Major H. C. Raverty and other scholars.

Among the poets of the court, Minhāj Sirāj, the historian, occupies a prominent place. He wrote poetry both in Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of the latter can be estimated from the following specimens of prose and poetry:—

The poets of the court:—
1. Minhāj Sirāj,
the historian, a prominent poet.

¹ الحمد لله الأول الذي لا ابتداء لوجوده - الآخر الذي لا انتهاء لوجوده -

الملك الذي ليس لملكه زوال - الأائم الذي لا
Specimens of his Arabic compositions:—

(i) Prose

برسالته مضارع باب الغيبة و فتحت بجلالته
مشارع كتاب الفتوة والسلام على آله الناصرين لدين الاسلام و اصحابه الكاسرين
للاصنام و سلم تسليما كثيرا كثيرا -

² الحمد لله المكمود بكل لسان - المقصود بكل جنان - المعبود بكل مكان -
المسجود في كل آوان - والصلوة على محمد المصطفى المبعوث في آخر الزمان -
صلى الله عليه و على آله و اصحابه خير آل و اخوان -

(ii) Poetry

³ الدين في غبطة و الملك في جزل و التاج و التخت في حلى و في حلل
و كم أقيم بعد العصر من صغر و كم أسد بصرف الدهر من خلل

⁴ قد صادف الرضوان أيام الورى من روح هذا البزم للسلطان
لا زال يبقى في جلالة ملكه و مزيد امكان و رفعة شان

The whole of the *Tabaqāt* is a good example of his Persian prose. A few lines from the beginning as well as from the middle of the book are cited below by way of illustration of his style:—

Persian composition:—

(i) Prose

¹ *Tabaqāt*, p. 1.

² *Ibid*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 319.

¹ اما بعد چنین گوید بنده دعاگوی مسلمانان الناصر لاهل السنة و الجماعة الداعی الی الله تعالی ابو عمر عثمان بن محمد المنهاج سراج الجوز جانی عصه الله تعالی عن الزل و التوانی که چون فیض فضل آفریدگار تعالی و تقدس تاج و تخت سلطنت ممالک هندوستان و بالش مسند اقالیم اسلام را بفر تارک مہارک و یمین پای گردون سالی خدایگان عالم - سلطان سلاطین ترک و عجم - مالک رقاب ملوک امم فرمان فرمای انہاء آدم - ناصر الدنیاوالدین - غیاث الاسلام و المسلمین - صاحب الخاتم - فی ملک العالم - ذوالامان لاهل الایمان - وارث ملک سلیمان - ابوالمظفر مکتوم بن السلطان التمش یمین خلیفۃ اللہ قیم امیر المؤمنین اعلی اللہ سلطنتہ - و خلد برہانہ و عظم شانہ - و ادام لکوز الاسلام امانہ - آراستہ و مزین گردانید - و خطبہ و سکہ بکلیۃ اسم و لقب ہمایون آن پادشاہ زیب و زینت یافت - و ایوان شاہی و میدان پادشاہی بشعاع طلعت خورشید لقاض نور و بہا گرفت - و پر تو آفتاب سلطنتش از مطالع بختیاری بر اطراف گیتی مستظہر گشت - و نسیم صہای عہد مہارکش ریاحین امن و امان در چین بساتین جہاں بشگفانید و سراں و سروران جہاں گوش جان را بقرط طواعیت درگاہ گردون پناہش مقروط گردانیدند - و گردن کشان گہبان رقبہ عبودیت را در رقبہ امتثال او امر و نواہی حکمش کشیدند - و زبان زمان و بیان جہاں بلبل آسا بر شاخچہ ثناء این نو اسراندین گرفت -

² و کاتب این حروف منہاج سراج در رجب سنہ اربع و عشرین و

¹ Ibid, p. 1.

² Ibid, p. 172.

ستمایه از طرف غور و خراسان ببلادِ سنده و آنچه و ملتان رسیده بود و در غره ربیع الاول سنه خمس و عشرين و ستمایه سلطان سعید شمس الدین طالب ثراه بیای قلعه آنچه رسید و ملک ناصرالدین قباچه بدر حصار امروت لشکرگاه داشت و تمام بکر و کشتی ها با بنه و اتباع لشکر در آن آب بر کشتی ها پیش لشکرگاه بسته که روز آدینه بعد از نماز از طرف ملتان مسرعان رسیدند و خبر دادند که ملک ناصرالدین ایتمر مقطع لوهور بیای حصار ملتان آمد و سلطان شمس الدین از راه تبرهنده روی بطرف آنچه دارد ملک ناصرالدین قباچه منهزم در کشتی ها با تمام لشکر خود بطرف بکر رفت و وزیر خود عین الملک حسین اشعری را فرمان داد تا خزانه که در قلعه آنچه است بطرف قلعه بکر برد و سلطان شمس الدین مقدمه لشکر خود دو ملک بزرگ را بر سر لشکر خود بیای آنچه فرستاد یکی ملک عزیزالدین محمد سالاری که امیر حاجب بود و دوم کزلک خاں سنجر سلطانی که ملک تبرهنده بود و بعد از چهار روز سلطان تاب ثراه با باقی لشکر و پیلان و بنه بیای قلعه آنچه رسید و لشکرگاه نصب کرد و وزیر دولت خود نظام الملک محمد جنیدی و دیگر ملوک را در عقب ملک ناصرالدین بطرف قلعه بکر فرستاد و مدت یکماه در پای حصار آنچه جنگ فرمود روز سهشنبه بیست و هشتم ماه جمادی الاولی سنه خمس و عشرين و ستمایه قلعه آنچه بهاص فتح شد -

Of his numerous *qit'at*, the following he

Poetry:—

(i) *qit'a*

wrote in praise of the Sultān

on the occasion of his corona-

tion:—

¹دعای دولتِ او گوی زآنکه بے کوشش جہاں بدولتِ او آنچنان شد آبادان
که بیخِ سوسنِ سیمین همی کشد خنجر که شاخِ گلبنِ زرین همی زند پیکان

The following pertains to his own historical work:—

²هرچه کردم سماعِ بنو شتم اصلِ نقل و سماعِ گوش بود
در گذارد خطا چو دید کریم زآنکه با عز و عقل و هوش بود
هر که او ذوقِ مهتری دریافت نزدِ صبرش صبرِ چو نوش بود
دامنِ عفو پروریش مدام در ره حاکم عیب پوش بود
بدعا یادِ داردش منهاج گرچه اندر نفسِ خسوش بود

The following was written on the occasion of the coronation of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh:—

³زهی در شانِ تو منزل ز لوحِ آیاتِ سلطانی
بهش در رایتِ شاهی علاماتِ جهانهای
معزالدین والدنیا مغیث الخلق تا خلقی
سلیمان سانت در فرمانست هم آنسی و هم جانی
اگر سلطانی هند است اربِ دودۀ شمس
بکماله ز فرزندانِ توئی التمش ثانی
چو دیدندت همه عالم که بر حقِ وارثِ ملکی
درت را قبله گه کردند هم قاضی و هم دانی

¹ Ibid, p. 2.

² Ibid, p. 4.

³ Ibid, p. 191.

چو منهاجِ سراجِ این است خلق را دعائی تو
 که یا رب بر سرِ پرِ ملکِ دولتِ جاوداں مانی
 به عہدتِ راستِ چون نیزه چنان گردد همه عالم
 که جز در قطرهٔ پرِ چم نہ بیند کس پریشانی

The following is in praise of Khān i Mu‘azzam, Ulūgh Khān:

شهر یارِ جہاں الغ خاں آنکہ	خانِ البرزِیست و شاہِ سک
ہرکہ از حضرتش قبولی یافت	پیشِ ہرگز نکشت رو بفلک
پیش او کیست حاتمِ طائی	نزد او چیست یحییٰ برمک
کرد از لوحِ خاطرِ منهاج	غمہ دہر را باحسانِ حک
بشنود این سخنِ زمنِ ہمہ خلق	از طریقِ یقین نہ از شک
نود و نہ مراست قسمِ کرم	دیگران را ہمہ ازل صدیک
ہر دعائی کہ گویش از جاں	کند آمین آن بصدقِ ملک

Of his several *qaṣā'id* written in praise of the Sultān, the following are noteworthy:—

(ii) *qaṣīdah*

شاہِ را چون نامِ خورشیدش عاقبتِ محصورِ دہاد²
 نصرت و تائیدِ حق با عزمِ او مشدود باد
 دوستانِ را زی بقا و دشمنانِ را زی فنا
 نفع و ضررِ در بخشش و در کوشش موجود باد

¹ Ibid, p. 453.

² Ibid, p. 204.

در جهان بابِ امان از عدل او مفتوح باد
 . بابِ بیدادی به عهدش مغلق و مسدود باد
 چون حسودش شد بطالع از فلک منکوس ورد
 طالع او در پناهِ ایزدی مسعود باد
 سفره ملک جهان را دوده او شمع بس
 چهره اعدای او در دید ها چون دود باد
 اهل ایمان را ز چتر و رایتش امن و امان است
 سایه بان دین حق اند ظل شان مسدود باد
 مقصدش بر فضل حق چون تکیه گاه دارد مدام
 بے توقف شاه را حاصل همه مقصود باد
 خاتم سرش چو نقش عدل و احسان یافته است
 شاهدِ بختِ جولان بر تاج او مشهود باد
 دولتش بر مدتِ احمد مہارک آمده است
 ملکِ مکتودی به میمونی مسام زرد باد
 داعیِ این سلطنت منہاج را ورد این دعا
 تاکه باد و خاک و آب و آتش است مورد باد

The following poem was read in the public *darbār* at Delhi on the occasion of Sultān's victory over his adversaries gained by his general, Ulūgh Khān, and the reception held in honour of the emissaries from Turkistān:—

۱ زهی جشنی کز و اطراف چوں خلدِ بزیں گشته
 خبی بزمی کز و اکنافِ عدلِ راستیں گشته

¹ Ibid, p. 319.

ز ترتیبِ نهاد و رسم و آئین و نشاطِ او
 تو گفتی عزمِ دهلی بهشتِ هشتمین گشته
 ز فرِ نامرالدین شاهِ محمود بن انتنم
 ملکِ نژدهش دعا خوانده فلکِ پیشش زمین گشته
 شهنشاهی که در عالمِ بفیضِ فضلِ ربانی
 سرایِ چترِ شاهی لایقِ تخت و نگین گشته
 چو خاقانانِ کینِ آورِ جو سلطانانِ دینِ پرور
 بدلِ ماحیِ کفر است و بجاِ حامیِ دین گشته
 مہارِ بادِ برِ اسلامِ این بزمِ شہِ عالم
 کزین ترتیبِ هندستان بسے خوشتر ز چین گشته
 مہین از جملہِ شاہانِ بادِ ہر بندہ ز درگاہش
 چو منہاجِ سراج از جاں دعاگویِ کمین گشته

Another poet of great merit was "Malik ul
 2. Amīr Fakhruddīn Kalām" Amīr Fakhruddīn
 'Amīd Naunakī, "King 'Amīd Naunakī who may easily
 of Poets". be reckoned among the greatest
qasīda-writers of the age. His *qasā'id* which survive
 show the grandeur and resourcefulness characteristic of
 Anwārī and Khāqānī, the two leading poets of Persia.
 Like the latter, he had almost given up panegyric
 poetry in his later days, and taken to Sūfism, singing
 the praises of God, the Holy Prophet and the bliss
 of contentment and celestial love. Some of his
qasā'id by way of specimen and contrast are cited
 below:

در حمدِ باری تعالیٰ

بر خیز عُمید آر نه فسردست دل تو بگذر ز غزل حمدِ خداوندِ جهان گو
 مداحیِ درگاهِ خدا کن که بر افراشت بے زحمتِ آلاتِ بسے گنبدِ مینو
 دو شاهِ روانِ کرد برین طارمِ ارزق پس داده ز سیارهٔ شان خیلِ زهر سو
 صد شاهدِ اخترِ بکمهٔ شامِ سوده مشاطهٔ صنعتش ز پسِ پردهٔ نه تو
 فرمودهٔ بختانِ جهان از شب و از روز دو خادمِ چالاک لقبِ رومی و هندو
 بے هیچِ دوکاندار به دوکانچهٔ گردون آویخته یک خوشهٔ بد و کفهٔ ترازو
 صنعتش بسرِ کوهِ برو یاندهٔ شقایق در باغِ دو آندہ کرمشِ سوری و راهو
 گاه از سرِ پرگار کرمِ نقشِ دهنِ بست گاه از قلمِ لطفِ نگاریدهٔ دو آبرو
 روز از کرمشِ گشته همهٔ رخِ بسفیدی شب نیز ز صنعتش بسیاهی همهٔ گیسو
 شاهانِ مجازی ز سرِ بندگی عجز مالیدهٔ پیٔ آبِ بخاکِ در او رو
 هر ماهِ بمیدانِ فلک دارِ دمهٔ را گه چون خمِ چوگان و گهی بر صفتِ گو
 آن دادِ گری کو بکمهٔ دادِ همیشه نازد گهی شخصِ کس از ظلمِ سرِ مو
 اورا که ز خونِ دلِ انگور غذا داد فردا هس سیهٔ روی کند چون رخِ آلو
 تهرهٔ بسرِ پنجهٔ بصد باز در آید گر چند سرِ مور دهد زور به تهره
 بخشید نسیمِ سحر از لطفِ عمیش هر چین و خطا را شرف از نائفِ آهو
 بشنو ز من ای یار چو توحید شنیدی پندے که ازو باز شود گوشِ من و تو
 هان تاندهی گوشِ بأوازِ رگِ چنگ هان تانگی رایِ صراحیِ دلِ آجو
 آنانکه بدینسال سرِ خواهِ داشته با یار امثالِ تو زان جملهٔ نکوئی که یکے گو
 خود هر سحرے ہیں که بدین لطفِ گواه است بر شاخِ چمنِ فاخته از گفتنِ کو کو
 بر خاکِ نکن چشم که تا ریخته بینی بس یارِ نکو روی بسے دلبز خواهی خو

شو باز عمیداً بسر رشته توحید در عقد مناجات در آویز چو لو
 ای داور داور جہاں دار کہ هستی بے روح ابد زندہ و بے کام سخن گو
 از حکم تو پیدا شدہ از نفس سہ دختر بے زحمت در دژ و بے واسطہ شو
 با حکم قدیم تو چہ کسری و چہ قیصر در پیش قضای تو چہ خاقان چہ ہلاکو
 بے امر تو یک مور بعداً نژد دم بے علم تو یک خفکہ نگر داند پہلو
 گرچہ صفت چنگ شوم کور و نکونسار در بزم امید تو زخم پردہ یا ہو
 آنروز کہ از ہیبت تو جملہ در آیند ارکان نبوت ز سر یا بہ دو زانو
 یا رب بکرم تو من بیچارہ بہ بخشای کز معصیت آلودہ ام و غرقہ بہر سو

ولہ فی نعت النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم

سخن طرازم اکنون کہ طراز آستینش
 ز طراز جاں بجوید چو طراز آفرینش
 دہ طرز تو گزینم ز طراز نعت یکرہ
 کہ دو کون شد کتابہ ز طراز آستینش
 گل روضہ نبوت کہ ز سنبلش بما چین
 تکفی بروں زنائہ نہرد صبا ز چینش
 سر کائنات عالم کہ بیای هست او
 چو صدف نثار بردہ فلک از در ٹہنش
 فلکش ز پنج نبوت دو علم سہ پایہ کردہ
 ز قنو رہ مسدس بکصار ہقمتہنش
 بنگین جم ندیدہ ز سر کوشمہ جز عشق
 کہ ز ماہ تا باہی شدہ مہر بر نگہنش

قدر و قضاى راى اجل و امل موافق
 ز من و زمانش دای ملک و فلک رهینش
 لبش انگبین و گل رخ چه مفید عالمی شد
 خفقان معصیت را مدد گل انکبینش
 دهن صدف پر از در ز کلام در مزاجش
 کمر افق مرصع ز درازی یقینش
 کف معشر یقین را همه یسر در یسارش
 رخ سالکان دین را همه یمن در یمینش
 صفحات هفت گردون نقطیست از وجودش
 دو جهان بجوی همت عریضت از جبینش
 بزبان موسسارش رقمی بداز سجش
 ز نسج عنکبوتی تتقی بد از قرینش
 بسپهر مه گریبان نظره یبک اشارت
 چو فواره زد دو نیمه دل ماه نازنینش
 بونا نطاق بسته زو حوش تا طیورش
 بدرد لب کشاده ز شیوخ تاجنینش
 گل و خار در دیاچین ثمری ز مهر و لطفش
 شکر و شرنگ هر دو اثری ز مهر و کینش
 چمن از نثار خلقش چو بنفشه رخ شخوده
 اثر کبودی اینک بعد از یاسمینش
 تن او ز روح قدسی که شفاء روح انسی
 نرسد بطینت او که ز نور شد عجبینش
 چو براق برق سرعت برکاب او در آمد
 ثعبان چرخ برزد چو هلال عطف زینش

دِخِ رَقْعَهٗ زَمِيْنِ رَا چَو سِيْردهٗ رَهٗ نوردش
 بِمَثَابَهٗ قَدَمِ زَن كِه شَدْنِ اَسْمَانِ زَمِيْنَش
 كَرِهٖ سِيْهَرِ تُو سَن بَه جَنِيْبَتَش دِرَاَن شَد
 زِ هَلَالِ نَعْلِ دَاغِي زَدَهٗ مَاهِ بَرِ سَرِيْنَش
 كَرَمِ جَبَلَتَش بِيْنِ كِه زِ بِيْهَرِ مَا بَعْقِيْ
 شَدَهٗ اَمْتِي سَرَايَاں دَلِ زِيْنِ قَبْلِ حَزِيْنَش
 خَرْدِ اَزِ چِهٖ ضَلَالَتِ بَعْنَايَتَش بَرِ اَمَدِ
 بَطْنَابِ جَلِ عَسَمَتِ كِه خَطَابِ شَدِ مَتِيْنَش
 دَلِ حَاسَدَاَنِ سَكِ جَاں چَو زَبَانِ سَكِ كَشِيْدَهٗ
 بَه سَنَانِ اَبِ دَاَدَهٗ اَسَدِ اللّٰهُ اَزِ غَرِيْمَش
 كَرْمِي چَو مَوْرِ صَفْصَفِ بَرِهِي چَو مَوِي بُوِيَاں
 بِمَثَالِ بَرَقِ لَامَعِ زِ فِرَوْنِ شَمْعِ بِيْنَش
 كَرِهِي چَو مَوِي رَفْتَهٗ بَخْمِيْرِ اَنَش اَزِ پِلِ
 كِه مِيَاں چَو مَوْرِ بَسْتَهٗ چَو مِتْخَالَفَتِ بَكِيْنَش
 بَرَجِ بَسَاطِ صَدَقَش زَوْغَا كِه بَرَزَنَدِ سَرِ
 كِه بِيْچَرَجِ بَاَزِ مَانَدِ بَمَرَاں كَعْبَتِيْنَش
 طَبَقَاتِ اَسْمَانِ رَا كِه بَه قَطْبِ شَدِ مَسْمَرِ
 شَدَهٗ هَفْتِ رَكْنِ ثَابِتِ بِيْچَهَارِ هَمْنَشِيْنَش
 هَمِ اَزِيْنِ چَهَارِ نَجْمَش چَو قُرْآنِ هَرِ دُو سَعْدِيْنِ
 مَهٗ وَ مَشْتَرِيْ مَقَارِنِ بَقْرَانِ هَرِ قَرِيْنَش
 بَدِ وَ گُوْشِ چَارِ عَنَصَرِ چِهٖ خَوْشِ اَسْتِ گُوْشَوَارِمِ
 زَنْدِ قُرْطِ هَشْتِ جَنَتِ بَدُو نُوْرِ چَشْمِ بِيْنَش
 رَصْدِ عَمِيْدِ گَشْتَهٗ سَرِ چَارِ سَوِي نَعْتَش
 كِه مَكْرِ رَوَاجِ گِيْوَدِ سَخْنِ غُثِ وَ ثَمِيْنَش

به نسب چه نازم اینجا که نیازمندم از دل
 بشفیع روزِ مکشور که گزید حق بدینش
 ز طرازِ نعتِ سحرآمیز چه حلال می نماید
 چو مئی که حرفِ صفوت ز پیاله شد معینش
 ز طبرزد و حدیثش لبِ طوطیانِ شکر چین
 خور خوانچهٔ فصاحتِ خودست ریزهٔ چینش
 چه کسم چه طوطیم من که کنم سخن سرائی
 من و آنکمی ثنائیش مکسی و بس طنینش
 دمِ طوطیانِ جانم نفسی مباد خالی
 ز تر نمِ ثنائیش ز نوای آفرینش

وله فی التوحید

منته چون سیمرغ در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
 ماورای مرکزِ خاکی نشیمن کرده ام
 ننگِ هر مرغی درین بوم از چه معنی می کشم
 رفته ام عنقا صفت در کوه مسکن کرده ام
 مرغِ همت تا نکردد خرمنِ سفلی گر ای
 خرمنِ چرخش ز انجم پوز اژدن کرده ام
 مه چه خرمن می زند چون دانه ننماید بکس
 من به اشکهای مروت چند خرمن کرده ام
 نو عروسِ بکر معنی را بنور معرفت
 در شبستانِ خرد چون روز روشن کرده ام
 سیرِ اجرامِ سپهر از جدولِ تقویم کن
 بود رنجِ ناطقهٔ یک یک مبرهن کرده ام

در لکلم چار حلقه کال ستام عنصریست
 بس ریاضتها که من بر نفس قوس کرده ام
 طوطی جان را که قالب گلخن مستوحش است
 هر نفس دستان سرای سیر گلشن کرده ام
 شد بگلشن طوطی و زاغ هوا را بر اثر
 گرد بر گرد طبیعت وقف گلخن کرده ام
 در بسی فن اهل حکمت را گران رغبت نبود
 من دران صد گونه ره چون مرد یک فن کرده ام
 گنج حکمت را ضمیر من چراغ افروز شد
 در فتیلش تا ز نور عقل روغن کرده ام
 گوهر اسرار معنی شد چنان حاصل که من
 خاطر از گنجینه اسرار مخزن کرده ام
 دودی از راه دعونت در گلستان هوا
 جلوه حکمت چو طاؤس ملون کرده ام
 شاهباز غیرت حق از کمین زد پنجه
 زان کبوتر وار در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
 ره درین یک برج بے دوزن نمودندم ولی
 من بهمت ره بروں از هفت دوزن کرده ام
 بر جی آنکه چون دلم بل کز دل من تنگ تر
 رشته ام کوئی مکان در چشم سوزن کرده ام
 برج قوس است این و من خورشید ساں بر عالمی
 نو بهاری را ز آه سود بهمن کرده ام
 این نه بس آهنگر آوردم نوید بخت بد
 گفتمش بر گردن از خونی بگردن کرده ام

مسندِ خورشیدِ زردین تخت می زید مرا
 حال را من تکیه بر کر سی آهن کرده ام
 در گریبان سر فرو برد ازدهای هفت سر
 تا من این مار دو سر در زیر دامن کرده ام
 بندِ بیژن می کندم عرض در چاه ستم
 نی منیژه دیدم و نی جرم بیژن کرده ام
 صبرِ بازوی تهمتن دارد از روی قیاس
 قوتِ مخلصِ بازوی تهمتن کرده ام
 همد مانم هر یکی در شغل و من در بندِ حبس
 حاض لله زین سخن تنها گنه من کرده ام
 کار بر عکس است و رنه خود که روز بد کشد
 شغلِ اشرافی که من بر وجه احسن کرده ام
 ناوکِ چرخِ ستمگر بگذرد روشن ز پشت
 گرچه روی صبر را از سینه جوشن کرده ام
 تن غذا خوا هست در بندِ غم و من را تبش
 شربت از خون و کباب از دل معین کرده ام
 یک زبان بودم چو لاله در شکایت بعد ازین
 خویشتن را بعد ازین مانند سوسن کرده ام
 چون بنفشه سر به پیش افکنده از قحطِ کرام
 هم چو سوسن ده زبان از مدحت الکن کرده ام
 کبیر لب می بوم کز گفتنِ مدحِ دروغ
 هر گدائی را شه و اشتهب ز لادن کرده ام
 هم سهارا بر فروغ ماه رجکان داده ام
 گاه دریا را کم از فیضِ غریزن کرده ام

دوستی با حرص کردم چون عمید از آرز خون
 زان قناعت را بروی خویش دشمن کرده ام
 طبعِ آتش پای را از دستِ بے آبی چرخ
 زیر حمل محنت اکنون بیی چه کودن کرده ام
 خاطر معنی طراز و طبعِ گوهر زای را
 گر چه دیری شد که بی قطران سترون کرده ام
 هستم این یک شعر دیوانی و صد درج گهر
 بلکه هر بیتش به از شعر ملون کرده ام
 حبس بر من شیون آورده است و از لطف سخن
 سوز دیدستی که من در عین شیون کرده ام
 یا رب از نخلِ کرم برگ و نوای من بده
 مرغ جان را چون بتوحیدت نوازن کرده ام
 خلعتِ امنم کرامت کن که ما را در گهت
 مامن اصل نیست اینک قصدِ مامن کرده ام
 دور دار از ظلمتِ شرک و نفاق و حقد و کین
 باطنی کز نور اخلاص مزین کرده ام
 آفتابِ معرفت در سینه ام تا بنده دار
 چون گهر های یقیں را سینه معدن کرده ام

وله قصیده در مدح سلطان سنجر

زهی ز نرگسِ مستِ تو یو خمار آهو
 ز بندِ نافه مشکِ تو شرمسار آهو
 بکیر تست دران چشم دیده نرگس
 بغیر تست دران زلفِ مشکبار آهو

بگردِ بوستانِ صدره چو دایره بر گشت
 ندید چون خطِ تو یک بنفشه زار آهو
 چه صنعت است در آن نرگشی که آن غمزه
 درونش صیدِ دلست و برون شکار آهو
 ز شکِ نقطه مشکین که بر گل تو چمد
 مدام دارد در سینه خار خار آهو
 ضرورت است که با این دو صورت مفتون
 کند حمایت زلفِ تو اختیار آهو
 حدیثِ عنبرِ زلفِ تو تا رسیده بدو
 نکند قصه نافه در اختصار آهو
 ز چشمِ مست تو بودش خمار و می شکند
 ز جامِ بزمِ جهان پهلوان خمار آهو
 خجسته شیرِ کمینِ تاجِ دینِ حق سنجو
 که شر و فکش هست در شمار آهو
 صواب دید که سوی خطِ ز خاک درش
 بود شامه کافور یادگار آهو
 مگر بخاکِ جنابش که دید زینش خور
 که بر و حوش شد از نافه کامگار آهو
 زهی شهابِ خدنگی که از تو دیو دلان
 حذر کنند که از ضیغم‌العذر آهو
 مخالفی که بچنگت در اوفتاد نرست
 ز چنگِ شیر که دید است رستگار آهو
 چو فخر کرد بچنگِ تگاورت این دم
 مسلم از نگِ خود داشت است عار آهو

بوقتِ حمله غباری که خیزد از سم او
 کجا رسد بکلفِ دِردانِ غبارِ آهو
 عجب مدار گر از غایتِ عنایتِ او
 پیاده یوزِ رود زین سپس سوارِ آهو
 بجانبِ لُخْلُخِ خلقی تو چه باز کند
 بخون سوخته ناف در تثارِ آهو
 ز عینِ لطف چو تریاکِ تو ندارم باک
 اگرچه رنگِ غذا خور شود زمارِ آهو
 غذایش ارقم و پس چون گوزنِ جز تریاک
 بعضی نافه کند هر طرفِ نثارِ آهو
 به عرصه که توئی ازو نورِ انصاف
 غمین نشسته در و یوز و غمگسارِ آهو
 بروزِ عزمِ تو ننمود جز که شانه راست
 چو از یمینِ صفت راند بر یسارِ آهو
 باعثِ تو گر پرورد عجب نبود
 ز مشفقِ بچه شیر درکنارِ آهو
 چه پای دارد باکبرِ تو دو صد دشمن
 بچشمِ یوز چه سنجید صفِ هزارِ آهو
 عدو هرزمِ تو وقتی رسد که با شرزه
 عیان کند بسرِ شاخِ کارزارِ آهو
 بمرتجِ کرمِ تو سرین و پهلوی آن
 ندیده هرگز چون ساقِ خود نزارِ آهو
 جهان کشایا بستم بامتنکالِ چو شتر
 بگردِ مدحِ تو برسی و سه قطارِ آهو

ردیفِ مدحِ تو صد باره زبید آهوی مشک
 ز مکر مت چو فرستاده ام دو بار آهو
 بنافه داشت ازین پیش کاربار اکنون
 ز فر مدحِ تو دارن رواجِ کار آهو
 کشاده نائفِ حکمت عید در مدحت
 چو نائفِ که بر آن کرد افتخار آهو
 همیشه تاکه سرِ ناف بر زمین جستن
 ز خاصیت نه نهد هیچ نائفِ دار آهو
 کمالِ عدلِ تو جائے رسیده بان مدام
 که یوز را شود از طنزِ ناف خار آهو
 بهایِ بخت گذارنده باهی و ناز نده
 چو در بهار در اطرافِ مرغزار آهو

The ingenuity and force with which this *qasīdah* in praise of Sultān Sanjar is written are noteworthy. The poet has very cleverly made *radīf* and *qāfiyah*, introducing a novelty in the art of *qasīdah*-writing and panegyric poetry, and throwing a challenge to other poets to compete with him.

The general trend of the verses written during these two periods of Indian history was more historical than panegyrical. Most of the poets in the service of the kings and the nobility remained attached to the person of their masters, and accompanied them in their tours and territorial campaigns. They too, like the soldiers of the regular

Distinctive trait of Persian poetry in India under the Ghōris and the Slaves.

army, took active part in the country's warfare, and remained present in the Camp with the sepoy and officers whom they praised and entertained with their poems depicting the battles and the heroic feats of their comrades. Besides such historical literature, which was coming into existence and gaining popularity, the poets took delight in writing chronogrammatic quatrains which gave the dates of events. This kind of composition which had its own utility was welcomed by people, because of its brevity and outspokenness. It was a distinctive step towards advancement in the art of Persian composition at the Indian court. Such a feature was absent in the growth of poetry in Persia. Many of the poets living in this period at Delhi and Lāhore were influenced by Sūfism, and produced poetry of a really high order. Also, the writing of *qaṣ̣īdah* with pageantry and clever devices, using the technicalities of profession and classics, to make a display of knowledge, dates from the regime of the Slave kings.

The Ghōrīs were, from the beginning, devoted to Persian poetry, and were subject to Persian influence. Their taste for Persian poetry. educated people used the Persian language in their own homes and in private talks, and had a soft corner for Persian manners and customs. Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Husain Ghōrī, son of Sultān Husain Sūrī, had a gift for Persian poetry, and com-

posed verses on the occasions of his victories over his enemies. Once, he wrote a *qit'a* to appease his vanity, when Ghaznī was ransacked by his soldiers for *seven* days and nights to avenge for the murder of his brother, Saifuddīn Sūrī, at the hands of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. It was sung before him by the *nā'iks* and talented musicians of the age in *three* different notes: Turkī, Hindūstānī and Persian. The verses that survive are as follows :—

قطعه

چراغِ دودۀ عبا سیانم	جہاں داند کہ من شاہِ جہانم ¹
کہ دایم بادِ مانکِ خاندانم	علامہ الدین حسین ابنِ حسین ام
یکے باشد زمین و آسمانم	چو ہر گلگونِ دولتِ ہر نشینم
اجلِ بازیگرِ نوکِ سنانم	املِ مقررِ زنِ گردِ سپاہم
بہرِ شہرے شہے دیگرِ نشانم	ہمہ عالمِ بگردمِ چوں سکندر
چو رودِ نیلِ جوئیِ خونِ برانم	ہر آن بودم کہ از او باہیِ غزیم
شفاعتِ می کند بختِ جوانم	و لیکن گندہ پیرانند و طفلان
کہ بادا جانِ شان پیوندِ جانم	بہخشیدم بدیشاں جانِ ایشاں

Again, when he repaired to Fīrūz Kūh, his capital, he held a public *darbār* and gave a banquet to which skilled musicians were invited from all parts of the Empire, and his verses were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The following *qit'a* of his composition was among the poems

¹ Ibid, p. 57.

sung on this occasion :—

تقطعۀ دیگر
 1 آنم که هست فنخر ز عدلم زمانه را
 آنم که هست جور ز بذلم خزانه را
 انگشتِ دستِ خویش بدندان کند عدو
 چون بر زه کس نهم انگشتوانه را
 چون جست خانه خانه کمیتم میان صف
 دشمن ز کوی باز ندانست خانه را
 بهرام شه بکینه من چون کس کشید
 کدم بکینه از کمر او کنانه را
 پشتیِ خصم گرچه همه رآی و رآنه بود
 کردم بگوز خورد سرِ رآی و رآنه را
 کس سوختم به تیغ در آموختم کنون
 شاهان روزگار و ملوک زمانه را
 ای مطربِ بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ
 بر گوی قول را و بیار آن توانه را
 دولت چو بر کشید نه شاید فرو گذاشت
 قولِ مغنی و می صافِ مغانه را

He also wrote quatrains of which two good instances have been preserved to our day. The following was composed off-hand, when, on his being defeated and

His rubā'ī.

¹ Ibid, p. 59.

brought before Sultān Sanjar, he was pardoned and rewarded by the latter with a tray of pearls:—

¹ بگرفت و نکشت شه مرا در صف کین
 هر چند بدم کشتنی از روی یغین
 بخشید مرا یک طبق در نمین
 بخشایش و بخششش چنان بود و چنین

On another occasion, he recited the following in a similar refrain, when he happened to kiss the mole on Sultān Sanjar's right foot:—

² ای خاکِ سَمِ مرکبِ تو افسرِ من دی حلقهٔ بندگیِ تو زیورِ من
 چون خالِ کفِ پایِ ترا بوسه زدم اقبالِ همی بوسه زند بر سرِ من

These extempore compositions represent his best poetic talents, and may compete with any standard poet of Persia in beauty of language, figurative style and chastity of thought.

¹ Ibid, p. 61.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER V

PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER THE KHILJIS AND THE TUGHLAQs AND THE LAST THREE KINGS OF THE SLAVE DYNASTY: SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDĪN KAIQUBĀD AND THE BALBANS.

The period covered by the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule and the last *three* kings of the Slave dynasty, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans, opens a golden page in the history of Persian literature in Hindūstān. It produced many a poet, prose-writer and historian, the importance of whose works was fully acknowledged by contemporary as well as later Persia. The most notable among them were the following "*five wonders*" (¹خمسة متعجرات) whose contributions to Persian language and literature are of immense value:—

1. Amīr Khusrau,
2. Khwājah Hasan Sanjarī,
3. Ziyā'uddīn Barnī,
4. Badr i Chāch and
5. Qāzī Zahir Dehlevī.

¹ Technically it refers to the following *five* radiant stars:—

عطارد - زهرة - مریخ - مشتری - زحل

Of these, a short notice of the life and works of only the first *three* (Khusrau, Hasan and Barnī) will appear in the following pages.

A valuable monograph on the poet has been written by Shibli in his *Shi'ru'l* Amir Khusrau of 'Ajam. The author drew his Etah. materials from such authentic records as Khusrau's own Preface to his *divān*, the *Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl*, which gives his autobiography; his Introduction to the *Tuhfa tus Sighar*; Dr. Rieu's account of Khusrau in the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum Library; the *Tārikh i Farishtah* and other chronicles of first magnitude. It is expedient, therefore, to recount in these pages only such events and circumstances as are vital to the interest of this book, clarifying India's position and accomplishment, so as to make the study of this poet truly representative and historically complete.

Khusrau stands out most prominently among the poets of Hindūstān, whose compositions through their retaining the integrity of Persian idiom knew no distinction between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian*. He is fortunately the only indigenous poet against whom even the bitterest Persian critic could not open his mouth, but had to acknowledge his greatness as a poet. Of the various forms of Persian poetry, he selected *ghazal* and *maṣnawī* for his themes, introducing substantial improvements in

the art of versification. His pathos in *ghazal* and continuity in *maṣnawī*, with sundry sweet and natural methods of approach, have a peculiar charm which distinguish him from his other comrades in calling, and give new tone to these two branches, widening their scope and popularity. His *ghazal* in sweetness of language and heart to heart converse has an effect which only Rūdakī and Sa'dī could claim. But to this he added a charm of his own by giving his verses a musical character, himself being an adept in music and the inventor of the Indian *Sitār*, which definitely improved the melody of the Persian *ghazal* and made it more popular in the assembly of the *Sūfis*.

His position as a *maṣnawī*-writer is still higher. Firdausī and Nizāmī were the two outstanding figures in Persia who had devoted all their energy and given their best to *maṣnawī*. The former's *Shāh Nāmāh* and the latter's *Sikandar Nāmāh* and the *Khamsah* were already a household word in Persia. Hence it was not an easy task for a poet in Persia, much less in India, to attempt to write anything in this kind, after these two masters, for fear of public opinion. But Khusrau's genius, which knew no bounds, flashed at once, and he flung himself in this field undaunted, with a confidence born of equality and fellowship. Like his two worthy predecessors, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, he gave a new turn to Persian poetry and enhanced its prestige,

which was frankly and fully acknowledged in Persia in every period of its literary advancement.

His father's name was Saifuddīn Maḥmūd, who was by descent a Turk of the *Lāchin* tribe. He had fled to India during the early reign of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Altamash, from his native village, *Kish*, in Turkistān, being afraid of the rise and devastations of Changīz Khān, and halted at Patyālī, a Tahsīl in the Ētah district of Āgra Division. He had three sons, of whom Khusrau was the youngest. His birth took place here in 652 A. H.¹ He received his early education at Ētah where he attended the school for some years. His father had appointed the famous calligraphist, Maulānā Sa'duddīn Khattāt, as the boy's tutor to give him lessons in the art of writing *nasta'liq* and *shikast*. Numerous stories are told of his quick wit and intelligence

¹ Shiblī, in his *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, Vol. II, p. 108, gives the year of Khusrau's birth 605 A. H., which cannot be correct for the following reason:—

Khusrau wrote his first *maṣnawī*, the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, in 688 A. H., when he was, according to his own statement, 36 years old, thus establishing the fact that his birth had taken place in 652 A. H. Cf:—

در رمضان شد به سعادت تمام یافت قرآن نامۀ سعدین نام
 آنچه بتاریخ ز هجرت گذشت بود سن ششصد و هشتاد و هشت
 سال من، امروز اگر بر دسی راست بگویم همه شش بود دسی

while he was still quite young. He had a gift for poetry in his tender age, and was endowed with a powerful memory besides. He remembered and composed verses while yet in his mother's lap¹. His tremendous success lay in his voice which was extremely sweet and melodious like the great Rūdākī of Persia. He loved music as an art in which he made considerable progress, rising to the highest rank of *nā'ik*. He died at the ripe age of 74 in 725 A. H.² after a chequered but most brilliant career as a poet, soldier and royal associate, and was buried at Delhi in the mausoleum of his spiritual teacher and guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, better known as *Nizām ul Auliya*.

¹ Cf Khusrau's own statement:—

در آن صغر سن که دندان می افتاد سخن می گفتم و گوهر از دهانم
می ریخت
(Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction)

² Cf. a chronogrammatic *qit'a* by Maulānā Shihāb Mu'am-mā'i, giving the date of Khusrau's death. It was engraved on a piece of marble and put over Khusrau's tomb:—

مهر خسرو خسرو ملک سخن	آن مکیط فضل و دریای کمال
نثر او دلکش تر از ماء معین	نظم او صافی تر از آب زلال
بلبل داستان سرای بیقرین	طوطی شکر مقال بے مثال
از یئی تاریخ سال فوت او	چون نهادم سر بر آنوی خیال
شد عدیم المثل یک تاریخ او	دیگرے شد طوطی شکر مقال

Khusrau's works, according to Jāmī's calculation, consist of more than *four* His works and less than *five lacs* of *bait*s (lines) including his prose.¹ It is also asserted that Khusrau was the author of *ninety-two* original works,² a number which no poet in Islāmic India surpassed.

His *Khamsah* consists of *five maṣṇawīs* written as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Khamsah*, The *Khamsah*. entitled the *Panj Ganj* (five treasures), as detailed below:—

- (i) The *Matla'ul Anwār*. It is a moral poem, rivalling Nizāmī's *Makḥzan ul Asrār* of the *Panj Ganj* series, written in 698 A. H., in a wonderfully short space of two weeks.³ It contains 3,310 verses, and begins with:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ خطبۀ قدس است به ملک قدیم

- (ii) The *Shīrīn-Khusrau*. It is a counter-part to Nizāmī's *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*. In one of its chapters, Khusrau has performed a public duty and given valuable advice to his young son, Mas'ūd, as a dutiful father would do. It took him about three months, and was completed in the same year. It

¹ Nafahāt, p. 548.

² Ibid.

³ Cf:—

از اثر اختر گردون خرام شد بد و هفتتہ مه کامل تمام

contains 4,126 verses. The opening verse is as follows:—

خداوندا دلم را چشم بکشای بمعراج یقینم راه بنسای

- (iii) The *Majnūn-Lailā*. It stands in competition with Nizāmī's *Lailā wa Majnūn*, and was similarly written and finished in the same year in two months and ten days. It contains 2,663 verses, and begins with:—

ای داده بدل خزینۀ راز عقل از تو شده خزینۀ پرداز

- (iv) The *Āīna i Iskandarī*. It is a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Sikandar Nāmā*, and was written in 699 A. H. It contains 4,450 verses, and took him about three months to finish. The opening verse is as follows:—

خدایا جهان پادشاهی تراست زما خدمت آید خدائی تراست

- (v) The *Hasbt Bibisht*. This is the last *maṣnawī* of the *Khamsah*, and rivals Nizāmī's *Haft Paikar*. The year of its authorship is 701 A. H. It contains 3,384 verses. The first line runs thus:—

ای کشاینده خزائن جود نقش پیوند کارگاه وجود

All these five *maṣnawīs* were written as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Khamsah* (the *Panj Ganj*) and completed in a little over two years' time. Qāzī Shihābuddīn *Adīb*, a scholar and a great admirer of

Khusrau's poetic genius, edited these *maṣnawīs* which were presented to the reigning Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, who rewarded the poet with a robe of honour and 1,000 *tankeas* per month as his stipend for life.

His other works are classified as follows:—

- (vi) The *Tuhfat us Sigbar*. It is the work, as the very name suggests, of his youth. It contains poems written by him while he was yet in his *teens* and preserved under this head.
- (vii) The *Wasat ul Hayāt*. This is the work of his middle age, and contains *qasā'id* in praise of Malik Chajjū and Sultān Shahīd, written between the 20th and the 35th year of his life.
- (viii) The *Ghurrat ul Kamāl*. This is, similarly, a collection of his *qasā'id* in praise of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī. Its value is greatly enhanced by a Preface from the author, in which he gives some important particulars of his life. It was completed, like the *Matla'ul Amwār*, in the short space of two weeks.
- (ix) The *Baqiyyah Naqiyyah*. This is the work of his old age, consisting of panegyric poems and an elegy on Sultān 'Alā'uddīn

Khiljī's death, which occurred in 716 A. H. It is a collection of poems written between 716 A. H. and 720 A. H.

(x) The *Nihāyat ul Kamāl*. This is the last work of his life. It consists of *ghazals*, *qasā'id* and *marṣiyas*. His *marṣiyah* on Sultān Qutbuddīn Mubārak's death (720 A. H.) and several congratulatory poems in honour of his successor, Sultān Khusrau Khān, together with a description of certain events occurring in the early part of 725 A. H., which is the year of the author's death, suggest, beyond doubt, that it was his last work.

(xi) The *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*. This is the first and the most important of his *maṣnawīs*. It was written in 688 A. H., at the invitation of Sultān Kaiqubād, when the poet had attained his 36th year. This is historically important and gives a graphic description of the meeting of Bughrā Khān, the ruler of Bengal, and his son, Sultān Kaiqubād, the king of Delhi.

(xii) The *Tāj ul Futūh*. This is his second *maṣnawī* written in the Coronation year of Sultān Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī (689 A. H.). It describes the events from the beginning of his accession to

the throne to the middle of the following year, 690 A. H.

- (xiii) The *Duwalrānī-Khizīr Khān*. This is his third *maṣnawī* which was written at the instance and special request of Sultān 'Alā-'uddīn's son, Khizīr Khān, who, having fallen in love with Duwalrānī, the beautiful daughter of the Rājā of Gujarāt, had married her. The incidents of their love, as preserved and supplied to the poet by the hero, are faithfully depicted with characteristic grace and beauty. It contains about 4,200 verses, and was written in 715 A. H. The poet originally gave it the name *Isbqiyyah*, and took four months to complete it.
- (xiv) The *Nub Sipabr*. This was written for and dedicated to Sultān Qutbuddīn Mu-bārak Khiljī. It is so called because it contains, like the *nine* skies, *nine* chapters, each of which has a different metre. It was completed in 718 A.H.
- (xv) The *Rasā'il i I'jāz*. This is a voluminous work written in three parts, and is the best specimen of Khusrau's prose. The poet, in this work, lays down the guiding principles of prose composition, and dwells at length upon each to emphasise their importance and indispensability. It

was completed in 719 A. H.

Besides the above, there are sundry works like the *Tughlaq Nāmah*, the *Miftāh ul Futūh*, the *Afzal ul Fawā'id*, the *Khaṣṣā'in ul Futūh* and the *Tārīkh i Dehlī*, which survive and have been reviewed by famous authors.

Khusrau's poetic talents have elicited the highest tributes of praise from distinguished Persian and Indian scholars, including poets and historians, whose views are held in great esteem by modern European orientalists, and serve as a cold douche to the bitterest Persian critics of India. The views of India's renowned scholar, Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevī, on Khusrau's poetry, are clearly expressed in his works. He holds that since the beginning of Persian poetry up till his times, no poet of Khusrau's genius and perfection had come into existence. The learned author calls Khusrau سلطان الشعرا (the Sultān of poets), يَكُونُ عَالَمٌ (unique in the world) and an 'عالم' (a Universe) by himself. He further says that Khusrau used to compose verses in the style and trend of thought of the poets of Isfahān in obedience to the wishes of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, surnamed *Nizām ul Auliya*, of Delhi. The author's own words are worthy of notice:—

¹دی سلطان الشعراء و برهان الفضلاست - در وادی سخن یگانه عالم و
نقاره نوح بنی آدم است دی در سخن عالمی است از عوالم خداوندی که
پایان ندارد - آنچه او را از مضامین و معانی در اطوار سخن و انواع آن
دست داد هیچکس را از شعرای متقدمین و متاخرین نداده و در طرز
سخن بر فرمود شیع خود رفته است که فرموده سخن بر طرز اصفهانیان بگو -

He is the Sultān of the poets, and the proof of the learned. In the valley of speech, he is unique in the world and is the essence of mankind (i.e. specially chosen for poetry among men). In speech, he is a world from the worlds of God, that has no end. Whatever, in the art of poetry and its various forms, has accrued to him from the subject-matter and meaning, to none else among the ancient and subsequent poets has it occurred. And he is devoted to the orders of his Shaikh who told him to write poetry in the manner and style of the people of Isfahān.

Khusrau and his friend Khwājah Hasan (who will be noticed hereafter) were (ii) Sa'di of Shirāz. for five years the court poets of Prince Muḥammad Sultān, better known by his posthumous title of *Sultān Shahīd*. He was appointed by his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, to be the Governor of Multān, where he had collected

¹ Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 99.

the best poets in the hope of making it the *Shīrāz of India*. The Prince was keenly interested in Persian poetry and had extended liberal patronage to worthy poets. He had conferred the title of *Amīr ush Shu'arā* on Khusrau whom he held in high esteem. He had also twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān, and sent emissaries with rich presents and passage money to the poet. The Prince was so sure of Sa'dī's arrival in India that he had planned to build a grand *Khānqāh* with a big college of Persian and Arabic learning attached to it at Multān, and to appoint the revered new-comer to be the head of the institution to accord him honour. The Prince had asked his father to contribute handsomely towards the building of this proposed seat of Islāmic culture, and appoint suitable *jāgīr* for its maintenance. The name intended to be given to this institution was *Khānqāh i Sa'diyah*. The object behind this move was to attract from Persia the only worthy poet living at Shīrāz, and make India the home of Persian learning with Multān as its chief centre. But it is a pity that Sa'dī on both the occasions put forward the plea of his old age, and commended Khusrau to the Prince with the remark در هند خسر و بس است (in India Khusrau is enough). The version of the Indian historian, Ghulām Husain Gulshan Lāhaurī, who compiled a short history of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule in the form of anecdotes, incidentally touching on the lives and circumstances of a group of

authors, poets and dignitaries, whom he termed *darbārīs*, is significant. He says:—

آوردہ اند کہ قا آن ملک عاجلاً و آجلاً التماسِ قدومِ شیخِ سعدی از
شہر از نمودہ و سید حسین شرقی و عموش عکبرہ را با تحفِ گرامی و
خرچِ کافی نزدِ شیخ در شہر از فرستاد اما آنحضرت عذرِ ضعفِ پیروی درمیان
نہادہ و سفاینِ غزل را ہر دو مرۃ بخطِ مہارک نبشکہ بر سولان سپرد و
فرمود کہ در ہند خسرو بس است -

It is said that Qā'ān Malik² invited Shaikh Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come (to India) soon or late, and sent Sayyid Husain Sharqī and his uncle 'Akrah with rich presents and sufficient passage money to the Shaikh at Shīrāz. But he put forward the excuse of his old age, and having written *ghazals* in his own hand on each of these two occasions entrusted them to the emissaries remarking, "*In India Khusrau is enough.*"

¹ Majmū'a i Tazkār, Mss., p. 39, Jaunpūr.

Note:—It is a useful small work which throws some light on the literary phase of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule. It is written in the form of anecdotes interspersed with verses and does not profess to be a regular or connected history of any period. The copy kindly lent to me by the owner, Shaikh Rahmat 'Alī, Zamīndār, Jaunpūr, U. P., is an imperfect one and damaged in the opening pages. The copyist styles himself نور خان خطاط خادم شیریں قلم نیکنوی. The date of transcription is 21st Sha'bān, 1243 A. H.

² Qā'ān Malik is the official title of Prince Muḥammad Sultān. It was conferred upon him by his father, Sultān Ghiyās-uddīn Balban.

Barnī's statement, which throws further light on the contemplated project and the building of the *Khānqāh* for the sake of Sa'dī, is as follows:—

۱ و خان شهید از و نور دانشی که داشت دو کُرت از ملتان در طلب
 شیخ سعدی قاصداً و عامداً کسان و خرج در شیراز فرستاد و شیخ را در ملتان
 طلب کرد و خواست که بجهت او در ملتان خانقاه سازد و در آن خانقاه
 دِهها وقف کند خواجه سعدی از ضعف پیروی نتوانست آمد و هر دو کُرت
 بکن سینه غزل بخط خود بر خان فرستاد و عذر نیامدن خود در قلم آورد -

And Khān i Shahīd, on account of his considerable learning, sent emissaries with passage money from Multān to Shīrāz twice, inviting Shaikh Sa'dī to come to Multān; and planned to build a *Khānqāh* for the sake of the Shaikh at Multān, and endow villages for that *Khānqāh*. But Khwājah Sa'dī, on account of the infirmity of old age, could not come, and on both the occasions sent *ghazals* in his own handwriting to the Khān, and wrote therein his excuse for not coming.

Sa'dī rightly felt that Khusrau, who could worthily represent him, was living in India, and his presence there was enough. This outspokenness of Sa'dī is a lesson to those modern critics who refuse

¹ Barnī, p. 68.

to acknowledge that India was raised to the level of Persia in the sphere of literature. .

Badāūnī relates that Sa'dī also wrote a letter to the Prince, commending to his notice Khusrau's poetic talents and urging on the Prince the need of showing the young poet a most liberal and munificent patronage in the following words :—

و شیعہ بعدر پیری نیامد اما بتربیت میر خسرو سلطان را وصیت
فرمود و سفارش او فوق الحد نوشته —

And the Shaikh did not come on account of his old age, but he advised the Sultān to show his patronage to Mīr Khusrau, and laid exceeding stress on his recommendation of the same.

The first and the most important historian of Indian blood, Z̤iyā'uddīn Barnī, a contemporary of Amīr Khusrau and his coassociate in the royal *darbārs*, who had witnessed Khusrau's immense popularity and success as a poet, states as follows :—

در عمر علائی شعرائی بودند که بعد از ایشان بلکه پیش از ایشان چشم
روزگار مثل ایشان ندیده است لا سیما امیر خسرو که خسرو شاعران سلف
و خلف بوده است و در اختراع معانی و کثرت تصنیفات و کشف رموز

¹ Muntakhab, Vol. I, p. 130.

² Barnī, p. 359.

غریب نظیر نداشت و اگر استادانِ نظم و نثر در یک دو فنِ بے همتا بودند
 امیر خسرو در جمیع فنون ممتاز و مستغنی بود همچنان ذو فنونی که در
 جمیع فن های شاعری بسر آمده و استاد باشد در سلف نبود و در خلف
 تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید امیر خسرو در نظم و نثرِ پارسی کتابخانهٔ تصنیف
 کرده است و دایِ سخنوری داده است

In 'Alā'uddin's reign, there were poets such as after them, nay, even before them, the eye of Time had not seen the like, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who is the 'King of the poets' of the Past and the Future; and in invention of meanings, abundance of literary productions and the opening of strange secrets, he had no equal. And if the masters of poetry and prose were unparalleled in one or two branches, Amīr Khusrau was distinguished and rich in all the branches. A versatile writer like him, who in all the branches of poetry has come to the top and is master of each, could not be found among his predecessors; and among his successors, perhaps, none would appear till doomsday. And Amīr Khusrau in Persian poetry and prose has written works equal to a library, and has done full justice to speech.

He further states that a contemporary poet of

the royal *darbār*, Khwājah Sanā'ī¹, says about Khusrau thus :—

بِخدا آر بزیر چرخِ کبود همچو او هست و بود و خواهد بود²

I swear by God that underneath the blue sky
There is not another like him or was or will be.

Barnī, at another place, compares the period of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī and Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī with that of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī in point of literary patronage and the skill of its poets in the following significant words :—

اگر همچو امیر خسرو در عهدِ محمودی و سنجری پیدا آمدے ظاہر
و غالب آنست کہ آن پادشاہان ولایتے و انقطاعے بد و انعام
دادندے.... و سلطان علاء الدین اینچنین نادرے شعراء و فضلاء
سلف و خلف را ہمیں یک ہزار تنکے مواجب دادے —

If one like Amīr Khusrau had appeared in the time of Maḥmūd and Sanjar, it is apparent and most probable that those kings would have rewarded him with land and *jāgīrs*; while Sultān 'Alā'uddīn has bestowed on such a rare personality among the poets and the learned

¹ The one named is other than the famous Khwājah Hakīm Sanā'ī who was his predecessor and flourished in the Ghaznavid period.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, p. 366.

of the past and the future only *one thousand tankas* as his stipend.

In the above passage, he clearly expresses his view that a poet of Khusrau's merit did not appear in Persia nor in India during the reigns of Sultān Sanjar and Sultān Mahmūd. Had there been one like him, he adds, those kings, who were noted for their munificent patronage of Persian letters, would have greatly honoured him, and appointed suitable *jāgīrs* to maintain his position and rank.

Amīr Khusrau became first attached to the court of *Khān i Mu'azzam* Kishlū Khusrau's connection with royal Khān, *alias* Malik Chajjū, who *darbārs*. was the nephew of Sultān Ghi-yāṣuddīn Balban, and remained in his service for two years.¹ He next entered the service of Bughrā Khān, Governor of Bengāl, who was the son of Sultān Ghi-yāṣuddīn. But as the climate of Bengāl did not suit him, and he also felt constantly worried at his being far away from his people, specially his mother whom he dearly loved, he returned to Delhi on long leave, and subsequently submitted his resignation. His fame as a poet was already widely spread, and he had no difficulty in finding a suitable situation. He received invitations from various Princes to come to their courts, but accepted the one from Prince Sultān

¹ Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction.

Muhammad, Governor of Multān. This Prince showed Khusrau and his colleague, Khwājah Hasan, great favours, and held them in the highest esteem. They both remained at Multān for about five years, until the Prince's death which occurred in a fight between him and Tīmūr Khān Tārtar, midway between Dībalpūr and Lāhore.² His death removed a great patron of poets and men-of-letters from India. It came as a shock to all ranks, charitably disposed as he was towards all, particularly towards the poets and scholars who were directly connected with his court. They mourned his death as a personal loss. The Prince, as has already been pointed out, wanted to make Multān the chief seat of Persian learning in India, and was working for it for years. He was the first Indian Prince to whom the idea of inviting Sa'dī to a city of the Panjāb and making it by his presence the *Shīrāz of India* had occurred. Khusrau and Hasan were deeply grieved at the Prince's death, and felt the loss perhaps more than any other fellow-poets did, as is evidenced by Barnī's account as fol-

² Cf:—

و در شهر سنه اربع و ثمانین و ستمایه خان ملتان را که پسر بزرگ
سلطان بلبن و ولی عهد آرد و پشت و پناه ملک آرد بود در میان لوهور و
دیو بالپور با تمر ملعون مبارزه و مقاتله افتاد از قضا و قدر باری تعالی
خان ملتان با آمراء و سران و معتبران لشکر در آن مبارزه به شهید شد -

(Barnī, p. 109)

lows :—

۱ و بارها از امیر خسرو و از امیر حسن شنیده ام کہ بر طریق حسرت
و نالہی روزگار گفتند کہ اگر مارا و ہنرمندان دیگر را بخت بودہ خان
شہید زندہ ماندہ —

And many a time I have heard from Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan that they said out of a passion of grief and lament that if there had been luck for them and for others skilled in arts, Khān i Shahīd would be still living.

Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn and the whole court remained in mourning for months. Almost every public institution or private house in Delhi and Multān was filled with grief for the dead. Khusrau and Hasan, who were among the fighting unit with the Prince, were taken prisoners by the Tārtars (683 A. H.), and kept in their custody at Balkh for about two years. They wrote several elegies in poetry and prose, and sent them to Delhi where they were eagerly read by the people. The near relations of those who had lost their lives with the Prince on the battle-field recited those compositions in their homes, and wept over their dead with unmitigated sorrow and feeling of separation. When Khusrau returned to Delhi, on his being released by the Tārtars, he

¹ Ibid, p. 68.

recited a newly composed poem at the royal *darbār*. It was so remarkably pathetic that the audience could not restrain their emotions, and wept so loud that the whole *darbār* resounded with their laments. The Sultān himself burst into tears, and contracted fever which ultimately caused his death. This marvellous elegiac poem is a real portraiture of the pangs of love and pathos, and stands unequalled in the realm of Persian elegiac poetry for its tremendous charm and effect. It consists of *eleven bands* which are reproduced here in full from the original as an abiding specimen of Khusrau's great mastery and skill in this art:—

1 ترکیب بند خسرو در مرثیہ خانِ شہید

بندِ اول

واقعہ است این یا بلا از آسمان آمد پدید

آفت است این یا قیامت در جہاں آمد پدید

راہ در بنیادِ عالم داد سیلِ فتنہ را

رخنہ کا مسال در ہندوستان آمد پدید

مجلسِ یاران پریشان شد چو برگِ گلِ زباد

برگِ دیزی گوئی اندر بوستان آمد پدید

ہر مژہ بے دیدنِ ایشان سنائے شد بچشم

نیوۂ بالا خونِ زہرِ نوکِ سناں آمد پدید

¹ Majmū'a i Tazkār, Mss. pp. 43—57.

دل بہ پیچد چوں زمانہ رشتہ صحبت گسست
 دُرِ بریزد چوں خلل در دیسای آمد پدید
 بسکہ آبِ چشم خلقے شد رواں از چار سوی
 پنج آبِ دیگر اندر مولتای آمد پدید
 خواستم تازِ آتھی دل بر زبان آرم سخن
 صد زبان آتشینم در دہاں آمد پدید
 سہنہ خالی بکندم گر یہ بکشاد از دو چشم
 چوں زمیں کاویدہ شد آبِ رواں آمد پدید
 گر یہ ہم بے پوست روئی می کند با من کزو
 پوست از رویم برفت و استخوان آمد پدید
 جمع شد سیارہ در چشم مگر طوفان شود
 چوں بد برج آبی انجم را قواں آمد پدید
 من نخواہم جز ہماں جمعیت و این کے شود
 خود محالست این بذات النعش پرویں کے شود

بند دوم

اُن چہ طالع بد کہ شاہ از مولتای لشکر کشید
 تیغ کافر کش برآی کشتنِ کافر کشید
 آنچه حاضر بود لشکر لشکرے دیگر نجست
 زانکہ رستم را نشاید منتِ لشکر کشید
 چوں خبر کردند از دشمن بدآن قوت کہ داشت
 بے مکاباہِ خشم در سر کرد و رأیت پر کشید
 یک کشی از مولتانش تا بلوہور اوتتاد
 یعنی اندر عہدِ من کافر تواند سر کشید

من نه آن شیریکه شمشیر چو آب و آنشم
 از کشتن هر سال شاں در خاک و خاکستر کشید
 بسکه بر گل خونِ ایشان را در آن کردم چو آب
 همچو بط بر آب کرگس بر سر خون بر کشید
 آنچنان رنگین کنم امسال خاک از خون شاں
 که زمین باید شفق را گونه احمر کشید
 او درین تدبیر و آگه نه که تقدیر فلک
 صفحۀ تدبیر را خطِ مشیت در کشید
 ز اختران چشمش رسید آردست باشد چون شهاب
 میل می باید که اندر چشم هفت اختر کشید
 غره شد از محرم نی بر و بر گل خلق
 چون بساط اندر گوی دشمنان خنجر کشید
 تا شود عاشوره در صفِ غذا شد چون حسین
 گردِ جنگش سرمه در چشم مه انور کشید
 آن چه ساعت بد که کافر بر سر لشکر رسید
 جوق جوق از آب بگذشتند و ناگه در رسید

بند سوم

خنک شه دیدی و بر گردون غبار انگیزختن
 باد پا بر کافران خاکسار انگیزختن
 غلغله در انجم از جوش سپاه انداختن
 زلزله در عانم از سیر سوار انگیزختن
 از خروش کوس و بانگ اسپ و آواز سوار
 لرزه در صحرای دشت و کوهسار انگیزختن

نعل در آتش نهادن تو سنان گرم را
 وز سم قهر آتشی نعلی شرار انگیختن
 آن چه حیرت بود گاه کار زار انداختن
 وین چه هیبت بود گاه گیر و دار انگیختن
 از فروغ تیغ در سر تف و تاب انداختن
 وز خیال نیزه در دل خار خار انگیختن
 پر دلا در حمله از بهر مخالف سوختن
 بیدلا در حمله از بهر فرار انگیختن
 ضربت مردانه در پهلوی نامردان زدن
 شعله آتش ز تیغ آبدار انگیختن
 دیو بندی را علم جمشید وار افراختن
 ملک گیری را فرس خورشید وار انگیختن
 آسمان اندر قصرع زان فزع برداشتن
 آفتاب اندر قیسم زان غبار انگیختن
 اندران میدان که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
 اے بسا کس را که لبها خشک روها زرد بود

بند چهارم

روز را تاریکی آمد چون بهم بر یافتند
 زرد شد خورشید چون خنجر به خنجر یافتند
 روز نزدیک فرو رفتن شده از رزم تیر
 آسمان بر سر خورشید لشکر یافتند
 شانه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از هر دو سو
 سر کشان چون موی در مو یکدیگر بر یافتند

آبگون شد خاک چون جوشن بجوشن دوختند
 گلستان شد دشت چون اسپر در اسپر یافتند
 آسماں بر می کشد گوئی که بگریزد ز تیر
 تیرها بالای سر زان پر که در پر یافتند
 صاف گشت از تیغ چون نیمه سر کافر تمام
 کافران هر صف که چون مرغول کافر یافتند
 از سر شک خوں همه یاقوتِ سرخ تیغ جست
 تا مکمل شد علمهائی که در زر یافتند
 هم یگان سر شدد و گان شمشیر چون بر هم زدند
 هم دوگان سر شد یگان سر ها چو در سر یافتند
 گشتگان افتاده در صحرای از اطرافِ سر
 همچو صورتنها که در دیبای اخضر یافتند
 پیش اربن کوشش بود کز چاشتمه تا وقتِ شام
 دوبردی و سر بمرگ و سر بسر بر یافتند
 خواست شه تا نطع نصرت گسترد لیکن چه سود
 کز فلک آن نطع را بر شکلِ دیگر یافتند
 یک زمان شمشیر فتانعی نیا سود از قتال
 از زوالِ روز تا شب اندران روزِ زوال

بند پنجم

یا رب آن خوں بود کاندَر دوی صحرا می دوید
 یا بسوی تشنه‌ان موج ز دریا می دوید
 آب در غربالِ ریزی چون فرو ریزد بزیر
 خسته‌ان را خوں بر آن گونه بر اعضا می دوید

کشته اندر خاک جاں می کند بر خون می طہید
 در گاویش موج می زد خون و بالا می دوید
 این بدوزخ برد آب و آن بجنّت برد جوی
 گرچه خون گهر و مومن هر دو یکجا می دوید
 تو سنل در خنجر و سر های سواران می فتاد
 مرد را سر می دوید و اسپ را پا می دوید
 هر کرا از قوت دل بازو اندر کار بود
 راست کرده تیر سوی قلب اعدا می دوید
 و آنکه از ضعف درونی دست و پا گم کرده بود
 گم بسوی آب و گله سوی صحرای می دوید
 تیر کشتیهای تن مهر اند بر دریای خون
 بیلکی میزد به تندى و گذارا می دوید
 از وجود مرد هر خونی که آن از تیر جست
 چون کسے از خاک جستے بے مکارا می دوید
 شاه لشکر کش به ترتیب صف و آئین جنگ
 می دوا نهد اشہب اقبال را تا می دوید
 پای پس می برد گردوں مو گرفته فتح را
 فتح هر چند از ملائین جانب ما می دوید
 کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شود
 ناگهان میزبان مارا پله دیگر گون شود

بند ششم

تا چه شب بود آنکه از چرخ آذتاب افتاده بود
 دیو آتش در جہاں می زد شہاب افتاده بود

گر حسین کربلا را ره به بے آبی افتاد
 او محمد بد که در آبش مآب افتاده بود
 روز چوں باقی نبود آن آفتابِ نکست را
 روز باقی بود چیزے کافتاب افتاده بود
 دایم ماهی شد دل مردم که از دستان دیو
 دستِ جم را خاتمِ شاهی در آب افتاده بود
 گافر اندر خوں چو خر در پارگیں غلطیده بود
 مومن اندر گل چو گوهر در خلاب افتاده بود
 فوجے اندر آبِ طوفانِ بلا را می گذشت
 فوجِ دیگر تشنه در راهِ سراب افتاده بود
 هر یکے در تخته خاکی فروشد بهر آنک
 کارِ شان با دفتو یوم الحساب افتاده بود
 جزوِ هندی بد منقش کرده از شنکرفِ تر
 کسپهائے سر که اندر خونِ ناب افتاده بود
 از وداعِ جلالِ جراحتهای دل خوں می گریست
 وز فراقِ زندگانی تن خراب افتاده بود
 ای بسا زنده که از هیبتِ میهن کشتگان
 تن بختوں آلوده و دیده بخواب افتاده بود
 فعلِ این مگر کهن بنگر که از دستِ سگان
 شیر در زنجیر و قیل اندر طغاب افتاده بود
 بے فزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام
 مگر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

بندی هفتم

دائراتِ آسمانی گردشِ یوکار کرد
 مرکزِ اسلام را سر گشته چون یوکار کرد
 ذره را دیدی که آب چشم خورشید برد
 سنگ را دیدی که کار لو لوی شهوار کرد
 تا شه اندر کُهِف عصمت شد شکست آن آدمی
 گر نه ز افغان خفته‌گان کُهِف را بیدار کرد
 گر بغار غیب رفت از پیش دشمن عیب نیست
 مصطفی‌م از رزم دشمن عزم سوی غار کرد
 در شرارِ آمدهش از تیغِ موگان مرهست
 خشم نمود آخر ابواهیم را درنار کرد
 در بدارِ قدس رفت از تنگنا دل بد مکن
 عیسی‌م از جور نصاری سر فدای دار کرد
 در سگالِ دو به فنی کردند با او هم بخوان
 زانچه سگساری بروی حیدر کرد ^{رزم} کرد
 در ز دیوانش گذشت آب از سر آخر یاد کن
 زانچه دیو تهمتن را غرق دریا بار کرد
 با مغول هر سال بهر دین سروکارش بود
 عاقبت جان گرامی در سر آن کار کرد
 دست تقدیر است که خون دیند و گه جان بود
 ناتوانا نیم نتوان کینه با قهار کرد
 شیر نو از نیشِ مرده صد خروشِ صعب زد
 پیل مست از نوکِ خارِ صد فغان زار کرد

جمعه بود و سلج نئی حجه که بود آن کارزار
آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

بند هشتم

مهر و مه بر روی آن فروخ لقا بگریستند
روز و شب بر سال آن اندک بقا بگریستند
هیچو فرمانش رواں شد شرق تا غرب آب چشم
بنده فرماناں که بے فرمانروا بگریستند
بسکه اندر عهد او ماهی و مرغ آسوده بود
ماهیاں در آب و مرغاں در هوا بگریستند
آسانها با هزاراں دیده بر اهل زمیں
هیچو باران بهاری بر گیا بگریستند
شبنمی کز آسمان هر صبح میریزد بخاک
اشک انجم دامن که از اوچ سا بگریستند
خلق ملتان مرد و زن مویه کنان و موکناں
کو بکو و سو بسو و جا بجا بگریستند
از خروش گریه و بانگ دهل شب کس نخفت
بسکه در هر خانه اهل عزّا بگریستند
هم بآب چشم خود کردند ترتیب وضو
مغفرت جویاں که در وقت دعا بگریستند
دیده خوں افشانند بر گل چوں گلوی تشنگان
بسکه هر کس کشته آن خویش را بگریستند
شد زبان از ناله چوں پای اسیران آبله
بسکه از بهر اسیران بلا بگریستند

و در ازان بندِ بلا ناگه اسیرے باز گشت
 روی او دیدند هر کس بے ریا بگریستند
 گر یہ چنداں شد کہ موج دیدہ از چپکوں گزشت
 حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چون گزشت

بندِ نهم

دست مالِک یا خود از دندانِ کُلم بازو کبود
 یا بیوشم جامه زین مینایِ چون مینو کبود
 هر کسے نامی زند سوزنِ بهر بازو و من
 نام شه خورنِ چو از دندانِ کُلم بازو کبود
 وہ کہ از چرخِ کبود آو خفته پہلوی زمیں
 در زمیں خفتنِ همه آفاق شد پہلو کبود
 هم سیاهی شد ز هندو هم سفیدی شد ز ترک
 بسکه می پوشد کنوں هم ترک و هم هندو کبود
 مصرِ جامع را بهر سوی رواں شد روئے نیل
 شسته شد از گر یہ چنداں جامه از هر سو کبود
 نیلگر را خود عروسی شد بخانه بسکه شد
 بر مثال نو عروسی در عزای شو کبود
 نیل پوشیدن کنوں چون رسم شد زین پس رواست
 گر کنند اسفید با فال رشته در ماکو کبود
 خوبرو یانرا کہ پیشانی زدند و خون گریست
 زیر آنرو سرخ شد بالا تر از ابرو کبود
 نیل حاجت نیست خوبانرا و سرخی بعد ازین
 چون ز کندن سرخ شد رخ در زدن شد رو کبود

بسکه می کردند موازِ فوقِ نازکِ سرِ بسر
 شد ز آزارِ چنانِ کندنِ تِه هر مو کبود
 موی سر تا چند ازین غم زار و گریاں بر کنم
 این تنِ چوں موی بارے از سر جاں بر کنم

بندِ دهم

وہ کہ دل یکبارگی خوں شد برآے دوستان
 آہ از آن جمعیتِ راحتِ فزایِ دوستان
 دیدہ بہرِ دوستان شد آشنایِ آب و خوں
 تا میانِ آب و خوں شد آشنایِ دوستان
 بسکہ خوں بے بہا خوردہ است خاک از دوستان
 واجب است از خاک جستنِ خونبہایِ دوستان
 خفتگانِ خاک را گر خاستنِ ممکن بود
 عمر باقی می کنم وقفِ بقایِ دوستان
 حیف باشد مودمان از چشم و چشم از مودمان
 دیگرانرا چون توان دیدن بجایِ دوستان
 خاکِ شان در دیدہ می آرم در انصافِ بود
 اینچنین بے قدر باشد خاکِ پایِ دوستان
 دوستان رفتند غیورے را چه گہرم در کنار
 چون کشم بر قامتِ هر کس قبایِ دوستان
 وہ ہوائی دوستان گر از سرم بیروں کنند
 از سرم بیروں نخواهد شد ہوائیِ دوستان
 خسروا هر بار میکوئی فرا خواہم درید
 جامے جاں تا بدا من در عزایِ دوستان

جان که صد جا پاره شد از غم کجا باشد روا
 پاره را پاره کردن از برای دوستان
 دوستان رفتند از بهر که میگوئی سخن
 ختم کن مطلق سخن را از برای دوستان
 یاد می کن رفتگان را خاصه در حال دعا
 کت برحمت یاد بنماید مگر دال دعا

بند یازدهم

یا رب آن خورشید رحمت نور در جان بادشاں
 جان ز فیض نور چون خورشید تابان بادشاں
 بود شاں در روز هیجا خان اعظم پیشوا
 پیشوای جنت الفردوس هم خاں بادشاں
 در هوای کال فلک آنجا پرود گردد مکس
 پر طاؤسان فردوسی مکس راں بادشاں
 فیض رحمت آب حیوان است از ظلمات گور
 یا رب اندر ظلمت گور آب حیوان بادشاں
 چون ز دیوان سیاست نامه شاں بر کف نهند
 از کتاباً بالیمیں در نامه عنوان بادشاں
 قطره خولے که گشت از حلق ایشان ریخته
 بهترین . لعلے برای تاج غفران بادشاں
 تشنگای را که جانها شاں ز بے آبی برفت
 بر سر از آب کرم هر لحظه باران بادشاں

بستگانی را که دشواری بر ایشان دیر ماند
 یا رب امیدِ رهائی زود آسان بادشاه
 دستگاری بند را رنجی که اندر بند بود
 موجب از بهر نجاتِ آخرت آن بادشاه
 و آنچه باقی مانده اند و زان بلا باز آمده
 فضل یزدان بادشاه احسانِ سلطانِ بادشاه
 چون معصود رفت شاه را عاقبتِ معصود پاد
 کیقبادش اسعد و کیقبادش مسعود پاد

After Khān i Shahīd, Khusrau remained for some years in the service of Malik Amīr 'Alī, who was an influential noble of Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn's court. The Malik was known by his popular title of *Hātim-khān*, because of his *Hātim*-like generosity in rewarding men-of-letters. Khusrau wrote several *qasā'id* in praise of his new patron, and also dedicated to him a poem entitled the *Asp Nāmah* from which the following lines, in which his name occurs, are here quoted:—

شاهِ عهدِ اختیارِ دولت و دین آفتابِ شرفِ بختانِ دین
 هم علی نام و هم بشیر دلی شهرِ دلدلِ سوارِ همچو علی
 عالمی چون عنانِ بختیانی بسرِ نازِ یانه بستانی

On Ghiyāṣuddīn's death, his grandson, Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād ascended the throne of Delhi. He invited Khusrau to come to his court, but the poet did not accept the offer because of his differences

with the Minister, Malik Nizāmuddīn, and preferred to go to the Khān i Jahān, the king's *'āmil* (governor) of Oudh. This direct invitation by the king was the first of its kind in the history of Khusrau's service to which he refers thus in the following verse:—

ز شاهان کسے کاؤلم کرد یاد معزالدنا بود شه کیقباد

Besides several *qasā'id* in the king's praise, Khusrau wrote his famous *maṣnawī* known as the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, already noticed, at the king's special request.

The Khān i Jahān held Khusrau in high esteem, but the latter did not like to live in a far-off place from Delhi, being separated from his dear mother. He consequently left Oudh after two years' peaceful stay there, as related by him in the following lines:—

خان چہاں حاتمِ مغلسِ نواز گشت بہ اقطاعِ اودھہ سرخراز
در او دمِ بود ز لطفِ چنان کیست کہ از اطفِ بتابدِ عنان
در اودھہ از بخششِ او تا دوسال ہیچ غم و نالہ نہ بود از منال

On Sultān Jalāluddīn Fīrūzshāh's accession to the throne, Khusrau got admission into the royal court, and was appointed *nadīm i kbās* (royal associate) and *mushafdār* (keeper of the Qur'ān).

The Sultān always addressed him as *Amīr*, Khusrau's titles:— in consequence of which he
(i) *Amīr*. was subsequently known at the court and in the public by this dignified title. He

has several *qaṣā'id* in praise of the Sultān, and a *maṣnawī* known as the *Miftāḥ ul Futūḥ*, which describes the latter's territorial conquests, is dedicated to him. He was also called *Amīr ush Shu'arā* because of his title of *Amīr*.

Khusrau was surnamed *Turkullāh* (the Turk of God) by his spiritual guide, (ii) *Turkullāh*. Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, as stated by the poet himself in the following verse:—

بر زبانِت چوں خطابِ بنده ترک الله رفت
دستِ ترک الله گهر و هم به الهش سپار

Gulshan, in the following extract, describes the (iii) *Malik* in manner in which the title of *Nudamā*. *Malik in Nudamā* (king of associates) was conferred upon the poet by Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī:—

¹ و سلطان جلال الدین قدر شناس مردم و هنو پرورد و مربی شعراء و
فضلاى عصر بود. . . . امیر خسرو را که سلطان الشعراء خطاب داشت بنواخت
و اسب خاصه و خلعت فاخره و هزار تنگه مہاجب پدرش با و بخشید و
اورا ملک اندماء درگاه ساخت -

On Jalāluddīn's death, Khusrau entered the service of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, the nephew of

¹ Cf. Barnī:— امیر خسرو کہ ملک اندماء مجلس سلطان بود
(p. 200)

the deceased, and wrote several *qasā'id* in his praise, and a *maṣnawī* entitled the *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ* which gives an account of his campaigns and victories. Besides the above works, his famous *Khamsah*, already noticed, was written for and dedicated to the Sultān.

This epithet was given him by the famous (iv) Khātim ul biographer 'Daulatshāh Samar-Kalām. qandī¹ to distinguish the poet from all his successors. It is indeed the highest tribute of praise that could be paid to a poet by his judges after his death. It means that Khusrau is the last word in Persian poetry.

This title which is equivalent to *Bulbul i Hind* (the nightingale of India) is a (v) Tūṭī yi Hind. most important one conferred upon him by the public in recognition of his great merit as a poet. It is significant that this judgment of his poetry by the people of Hindūstān is endorsed by the Persian judges as well, and was echoed in Persia and the Persian-speaking territories alike, and their leading poets like Hāfiz, Mullā Shihāb Mu'ammā'i and 'Urfī called Khusrau by that name.²

¹ Tazkirat ush Shu'arā, p. 105 (Bombay).

² Cf. Hāfiz:—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قندِ پارسی که به بنگاله می درد

Cf. Mu'ammā'i's chronogrammatic verse giving the date of Khusrau's death:—

شد عذیم المثل یک تاریخ او و آن دگر شد طوطی شکر مقال

This title is also among his proud titles. It is (vi) Sultān ush not known whether it was given Shu'arā. him during his lifetime or after his death, but this much is certain that he had this title conferred upon him by competent judges of Persian poetry.¹

Khusrau stands first among all the Persian and Indian poets both with regard to the volume of his work and the variety of his subjects. According to the modest calculation of his biographers as well as his own,² he wrote less than *five* and more than *four lacs* of *baits* (lines). Firdausī has to his credit *sixty thousand* verses in his *Shāhnāmā*, to which may be added *ten thousand* verses more, at a most liberal calculation, including his *Yūsuf u Zulaikbā* (9,000) and occasional poems (1,000), all told *seventy thousand* verses. Sa'dī's work too, as is extant, remains below *one lac baits*. Khusrau's other features are his speed and versatility which are possessed by few

Cf. 'Urfī:—

به روح خسرو ازین پارسی شعر دادم که کام طوطی هندوستان شود شهریں

¹ Cf. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevī calling Khusrau by that name:—

دی سلطان الشعراء و برهان الفضلاء است

(Akhhār ul Akhyār, p. 99)

² Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction.

poets in Persia under Islām. While Firdausī is, undoubtedly, a master of *maṣnavī*, Sa'dī of *ghazal*, and Kamāl i Ismā'il, Khāqānī, Anwarī, Zahir and 'Urfī of *qasīdah*, our poet singly is a master of all, with the credit of completing the books like the *Ghurrat ul Kamāl* and the *Matla'ul Anwār* within *fifteen days* each.

Apart from these virtues, the royal courts to which he belonged were passionately fond of hearing Khusrau's *ghazals*, and he was required by the kings to bring fresh compositions with him every day. The *Arbāb i Nashāt* of the Sultāns had standing orders to wait for Khusrau's new *ghazals*, and sing them every day to the accompaniment of musical instruments in the royal presence. Khusrau, thus, had this onerous duty to perform, and bring to the court, irrevocably, new *ghazals* every day on the subject of *love* and in praise of the art and beauty of the *Arbāb i Nashāt*.¹ Such an arduous and delicate position

¹ Cf.

و هر روز امیر خسرو در آن مجلس غزلهای نو آرد دی و سلطان شیفته
غزلهای امیر خسرو شده بود -

(Barnī, p. 199)

Also cf.

امیر خسرو که ملاک انداماء مجلس سلطان بود هر روز در وصف جمال
ساده پسران ماهر و . . . و در جان نوازی دلربایان مایه ناز غزلهای تازه و
تر آوردی -

(Ibid., p. 200)

could hardly be said to have been the fate of any of the poets at the Persian court.

Khusrau's Hindī poems are said to be as large

Khusrau's alleged in bulk as his Persian poems are. Hindī works.

This view is held by some later writers who have been cited as authority by Khusrau's biographers. Shibli also believes in Khusrau's Hindī works, and refers to Auhādī, author of the '*rafāt ul 'Ashiqīn*, as expressing such a view. The other source of this information is said to be Mīr Taqī Mīr (an Urdū poet of the 18th century A. D.), who is quoted by some as saying in his *Nikāt ush Shu'arā* that Khusrau's Hindī verses were being sung at Delhi in the author's time.¹ The third source, which is mentioned by some chroniclers with greater confidence, is Khusrau's own statement in his Introduction to the *Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl*.

All these sources are, however, so meagre and historically poor that no reliance can be placed on the alleged view. Khusrau's statement, which is the best source and a deciding factor, is as follows:—

پیش ازین از شاهان سخن کسے راسے دیوان نبود مگر مرا کہ خسرو
ممالک کلام - مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آن سه دیوان در

¹ His version is as follows:

اشعار ریخته آن بزرگ بسیار دارد دریں خود تردده نیست از
انجمله یک قطعه نیمه نوشته آید -

² *Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl*, Introduction.

عبارت عربی و فارسی و ہندوی است و در پارسی مجرد کسی سخن را سے
قسم نکرده جز من -

Before this, none from among the kings of poetry had *three dīwāns* but me, who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses *three dīwāns*, yet those *three* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into *three* kinds but me.

Khusrau's statement is clear on this point. He assigns the Hindī work *not* to himself but to his predecessor, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān; and further emphasises the fact that all his *three dīwāns* are exclusively in Persian, there being none in Hindī. This authoritative declaration must set all speculation at rest. Besides, no reference to his Hindī *dīwān* ever occurs in any contemporary record. Even Barnī's *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, which gives a brilliant account of Khusrau's poetical career, is silent on the point. Hence it is inconceivable how some later writers, who came to live centuries afterwards, could assign Hindī works to Amīr Khusrau, unless he was mistaken for one of his namesakes who lived and wrote in Birj Bhākā in the later Mughal age. Among the notable figures one was Khusrau Khān whose name is first heard under Shāh Jahān. It seems very likely that Taqī Auhādī and Khusrau Khān were known to each other, and the former referred to his comrade's Hindī

poems.

The other was Mīr Khusrau, who flourished in Aurangzēb's time. The Hindī works commonly assigned to Amīr Khusrau Dehlevī by the modern writers, like Mīr Taqī Mīr, Āzād and others, could probably be no other than those of this Mīr Khusrau. Their statements, therefore, which have no historical background beyond their own surmise or hearsay reports, must be taken with caution, since there exists, besides Khusrau's own denial, strong internal evidence against the possibility of the alleged Hindī works belonging to the 7th century A. H.¹

The second great poet of the age was Khwājah Khwājah Hasan Amīr Najmuddīn Hasan bin Sanjarī Dehlevī.² 'Alā'uddīn Hasan Sanjarī of Delhi. He was the *poet-laureate's* personal friend and companion at the royal courts. The historian Barnī's intimate acquaintance and frequent meetings with the poet give us some valuable information about his life and works. Another contemporary

¹ For detailed discussion under this head, vide: A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. I, pp. 66-68.

² A valuable collection of the poet's Persian *ghazals*, *qasīdas*, *rubā'iyāt* and *maṣnawīs*, together with a short review of his life in the Urdū language, is published at Hyderābād (Deccan) under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Sir Kishen Prāsād, K.C.I.E., entitled:—

دیوان حسن سجزی دہلوی

(Dīwān i Hasan Sijzī Dehlevī)

historian, Shaikh Muhammad Mubārak 'Alavī *alias* Amīr Khurd, who, like Barnī, knew the poet full well, has made some equally important observations about his poetical worth and genius. He was born and bred at Badāūn and Delhi respectively, as is evident from his following verse:—

پرورده فضلِ ایزدش ارشادِ غیبی مرشدش
بوده بدایون مولدش دهلی است منشاء داشته

His father's name was 'Alā'uddīn Ḥasan Sanjārī, who was later known by the short title of 'Alā i Sanjārī.¹

¹ The editor of the *diwān*, Maulānā Mahvī, calls the poet Sijzī, *not* Sanjārī, which he believes to be an error of the copyist. He further doubts the authenticity of the word 'Alā, a puzzle which he is unable to solve.

'Alā, in fact, is a short form of 'Alā'uddīn, which was the name of the poet's father. This view, which is held by more than half a dozen Persian and Indian chroniclers belonging to widely different periods of history, admits of no ambiguity whatsoever:

Cf. Jāmī:—

لقب و نسبتِ وی نجم‌الدین حسن بن علاء‌السجری است آنح
(Nafahāt, p. 549)

Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaq Muhaddis Dehlevī:—

امیر حسن بن علاء‌السجری دهلوی آنح
(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

Ghulam Ḥusain Gulshan Lāhaurī:—

خواجہ نجم‌الدین حسن المصططب بہ امیر حسن بن علاء‌الدین حسن

The date of his birth is not given in any historical or biographical work, but according to some authorities he

Date of his birth.

سنجری دهلوی رحمہ اللہ تعالیٰ یکے از فقلاء و شعراءِ عہدِ سلاطینِ خلیج
است - گویند لقبِ وی امیر از قدیم است کہ اجدادش در عہدِ سلطان
سنجر سلجوق ازین نسبت ممتاز بوده اند -

(Majmū'ai Tazkār, fol. 43 b.)

Amīr Shīr 'Alī Khān Lōdī:—

خواجہ حسن دهلوی و هو نجم الدین علاء السنجری الخ
(Mir'āt ul Khīyāl, p. 48)

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar:—

میر حسن علی سنجری قدس سرہ از ساداتِ عظام الخ
(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 329)

Mīrzā Sa'dullāh:—

امیر حسن سنجری دهلوی بن علاء الدین حسن یکے از شعراءِ عصر
الخ
(Malfūzāt i Auliya, p. 54)

In addition to this testimony, the authority of the two most distinguished orientalists is as follows:—

- (i) Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the B. M. gives the father's name 'Alā'uddīn Sanjarī.
 - (ii) Dr. Sprenger also in his Oudh Catalogue gives the full name 'Alā'uddīn.
- Again, the epithet of the poet has been clearly transcribed by both English and Persian writers in the manuscripts as well as in the printed editions

was older than Amīr Khusrau.¹ The difference between their ages does not, however, appear to be of more than a year. In a Preface to his *qasīdah* entitled *Khamsīn* preserved in his *diwān*, of which a good manuscript copy exists in the Khudā Bakhsh Khān's Public Library at Bānkīpūr, he says that he wrote this work in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-'uddin Khiljī, and completed it on Sunday in the month of *Rabī 'ul Awwal* 714 A. H., when he was 63 years of age,² thus establishing the fact that he was

as *Sanjarī* not *Sijzī*. It appears that some ancestor of the poet held a high rank in the service of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, in consequence of which the family retained the distinction of being known as *Sanjarī* as a mark of hereditary honour. This view is based on the statement of the author of *Majmū'a i Taẓkār* quoted above.

¹ Cf. the statement of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevi:—

اورا نسبت بہ میر خسرو تقدم گونه هست اگر چه هر دو صاحب و
معاصر یک دیگر بودند —

(Akḥbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

² Cf.—

جمع کردن این مجموع و ربط این معانی مطبوع در عهدِ همایون
علاءالدینیا والدین ظل الله فی العالمین خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ و اعلیٰ امرہ
و شانہ بودہ است و درین ایام بندہ حسن را کہ صبح از اتقی وفاد مہدہ و
سال عمر بشست و سہ رسیدہ چون اشارت اصحاب را طاعت داشتن
واجب بود و بحکم ایشانرا بحکم مضادعت پیش آمدن اوراق این دیوان

born in 651 A. H., one year prior to Amīr Khusrau.

While Khusrau's poetry, particularly *ghazal*, was His merit as a *gha-* admired by Sa'dī, Hasan's *ghazal* *zal*-writer. was considered superior to that of Amīr Khusrau. The latter himself acknowledged Hasan's excellence in *ghazal*, and boastfully imitated him, as is evident from the following verse:—

خسروا شعر تو اسرارِ حدیث است مگر
کز سخنهای توام بوی حسن می آید

O Khusrau, thy verse is the store of secrets of speech, perhaps

From thy utterances comes forth the breath of Hasan.

Ziyā'uddīn Barnī, the contemporary historian, Barnī's statement relates that Hasan, during his about Hasan: very life-time, was given the "Sa'dī of Hindūs- title of سعدی هندوستان (Sa'dī of tātān)". Hindūstān) which made him the peer of Persia's grea-

بتحریر آمد و معاملہٴ این مصالح را قد لیے پیدا شد اتفاقِ عہدِ اینِ عرایس
نفایس را روزِ یکشنبہٴ غرہٴ ماہِ ربیعِ الاول سنہٴ اربعِ عشر و سہمائیۃ -

(Preface to *Khamsīn*, Mss., K.B.K.P.L., Bānkīpur.)

N. B.—I am indebted to my worthy friend Prof. N. A. Nadvī, M.A., of the Ismā'īl College, Bombay, for his very kindly supplying me with a copy of the much-needed *Khamsīn* and its Preface.

test *ghazal*-writer then living.¹ This is evidently due to the fact that Hasan in his poetry displayed the virtues of Sa'di more fully and bore closer resemblance to him than did any other poet of the age. This characteristic feature of Hasan was later pointed out by many a poet and critic as well as by himself.² The great Indian writer, Shibli, has very clearly expressed his view about Hasan's *ghazal* in the following words:—

حسن کا تذکرہ ہم الگ نہیں لکھتے - صنفِ غزل پر اُنکا خاص احسان
ہے - جو سوز و گداز اور جذبہ و اثر اُنکے کلام میں موجود ہے اُنکے
کشتہٴ محبت امیر خسرو میں بھی نہیں -

We do not propose to write an account of Hasan separately. He has put *ghazal* under special obligation. The pathos, charm and

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و دویم شاعرے از شعرائی یگانہ در عصرِ علانی امیر حسن سنجری
بودہ است و اورا تالیفاتِ نظم و نثر بسیار است و بسلامتی ترکیب و روانی
سخن آیت بودہ است و از بسکہ غزلیہای وجدانی در غایتِ روانی بسیار
گفتہ است اورا سعدی ہندوستان خطاب شدہ بود -

(pp. 359-60)

² Cf Hasan's verse:—

حسن گلے ز گلستانِ سعدی آورده است کہ اہل معنی گلچیں از اُن گلستانند

³ Shi'r ul 'Ajam, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

effect, which exist in his poetry, are not to be found even in his devoted friend Amīr Khusrau.

Among his writings, the most important, besides

the *dīwān*, is his prose-work entitled *Fawā'id ul Fuwād* which he wrote to please his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn *Auliya* of

Delhi. It contains the utterances of the saint and a sketch of his life, and is held in great esteem by the *Sūfīs* all over India even to this day. Amīr Khusrau's remark about this work is as follows:—

کاشکے تمام تصنیفات من بنام حسن بودے و این کتاب از من بودے -¹

Would that all my writings be in the name of *Hasan*, but this book be in my name.

It was undertaken in 707 A. H., and finished in about 15 years' time in 722 A. H.

The second noteworthy item is his elegy in prose, which he wrote on the death of Sultān Muḥammad, better known as Khān i Shahīd. It appears somewhat peculiar for a poet to write an elegy in prose against the accepted form and the prevalent custom of the times. But this unique departure on the part of *Hasan* might be due to the

¹ Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101.

fact that his friend Amīr Khusrau had already written an elegy in verse, which was unsurpassed. Hence the former did, perhaps, consider it fit for himself to do his duty in prose. It is reproduced here in full as a rare specimen, illustrating his art in making his prose as effective as poetry for the purpose of elegy:

مرثیہ امیر حسن

دیر باز است تا سپهر ستمگر اگرچه مدتی عقدِ موافقت می بندد و
عهدِ مصادقت می پیوندن بر می گردد و روزگار ناسازگار اگرچه رسمِ رضا می
بهد و عدهٔ وفا می دهد در می گذرد آسمان شوخ چشم که مردمکِ مردمی
او به خسِ خساست معیوب است اگرچه اولِ چوستان بے آنکه هیچ
کرمے باعث باشد چیزے می بخشد و لیکن آخرِ چوستان بے آنکه هیچ
خیانتے مانع آید باز می ستاند عادات و معهودات جانے همبریں منوال چه
به تجارب و چه به تسامع دیده و شنیده آمده است که هر کرا چوستان ماه
بر آمده می بیند می خواهد که روی کمالِ او را بداغ نقصان سیاه کند و هر
کرا چوستان ابر بر سر آمده می یابد دران می کوشد که جوهرِ او را پاره پاره
در اطرافِ آفاق پراگنده کند دریں باغِ حیرت و بستانِ حسرت چنانکه
هیچ گلے بے خار نرست هیچ دله از خار خار نرست ای بسا سبزهٔ نورسته
که از خزان آفت در مقامِ لطافت زرد روی مانده و ای بسانِ حالِ نو خاسته
که از تند بادِ اجل در خاکِ زمین پهلوانده بیت

در بادِ خزاں بین که چه حدِ سردی کرد بر سر و جواں چه ناجوانمردی کرد
یکے از امثالِ این تمثیل واقعِ خسرو ماضی قان ملکِ غازی است
انار الله بوهانه و ثقل بالعسکرات مهزانه روزِ آدینه سلخِ ماهِ ذی حجه سنه

قلت و ثمانین و ستمایه (۶۸۳) که ماهِ چوَن مهر در دلِ کافرِ هیچ جا پدید
 نبود آفتاب بصلاحتِ لشکرِ اسلام تیغِ زنان بر آمد و شاهزادهٔ اعظم که آفتابِ
 آسمانِ ملک بود نورانیتِ غزا درغرهٔ غریبِ او لایح و جهدِ انراطِ جهاد در
 ضمیرِ منیر او ثابت پایِ مبارک در رکابِ آوردِ شبانه بر رایِ مشکلِ کشای
 عرضداشتند که ایتمر باتمامی لشکرِ بسه فرسنگی فرود آمده است چون
 بامداد شد بر عزیمتِ کوچِ آزاں مقامِ نهضتِ فرمود و بیک فرسنگی آن
 ملاعین پیش باز آمده بموضعِ مضاف در حدودِ باغِ سریر بر کرانهٔ آبِ لاهور
 اختیار کرد چنانچه متصلِ آبِ دیهه بزرگ بود آنرا حصنِ حصین ساخت
 و صورتِ بست که چون کفار مقابل شوند هر دو آب در عقبِ لشکر باشد
 تا نه ازین جمله کسی در بغور تواند نهاد و نه از آن مخاذیل ساقطِ لشکر را
 آفتی تواند رسید و الحق آن اختیار از غایتِ حزم و نهایتِ کاردانی آن خان
 جهان ستان بود اما چون قضای بد می رسد سر رشتهٔ همهٔ مصالح در قاب
 می رود و سلکِ همهٔ تدبیر ها از انتظام می شود - شعر

هر کرا از بختِ بد راهِ اوفتد کار او در کامِ بد خواهِ اوفتد
 بختِ چوَن دیوانه از رهٔ گم شود عقلِ چوَن شبِ کور در چاهِ اوفتد

قصارا آنروز ماه و آفتاب که نسبتِ بملوک دارند نشانهٔ ماهی آویخته
 بودند و مریخ که سرخروئی او همه از خونِ اعیانِ مسکنت است همه از
 ترکش آن برجِ خدنگِ خدلان و طعانهٔ طغیان می کشاد خانِ جوڑا کمر را
 که اسدی بود از برجِ آبی خانهٔ خوف و خرابی و دلایلِ فتن و مخایلِ
 فتور برین نوعِ ظاهر و باهر و رمز و اشاراتِ جاءالقضا ضاقَ الفضا در سیاقِ
 اوراقِ تحریر افتاد -

القصه نیم روز است که سوارِ چرخ در ولایتِ نیمروز رسید و روز آن
 شاه گیتی فردر را وقتِ زوالِ نزدیک شد ناگاه گروهی از سمتِ آن کفره پدید

آمد خان غازی هاس زمان سوار شد و مثال داد که تمامی خیل و خدیم و حاشیه و حشم او بر قضیه ائتلاوالشرکین کافه صفی صد بار قوی تر از سید سکندر بر کشیدند بعد از ترتیب میمنه و ترکیب میسره بذات عالی صفات در قلب گاه چون در جمع کواکب ماه بجهاد ایستاد و کفار تار علیهم الخذلان و الخسران از آب لهور عبره کردند و مقابل صف اسلامیان در آمدند ازین وحشیان خرابی دوست بیابان زاده پر های بوم بر سر شوم خود نهاده و غزوات اسلام از ملوک ترک و خلج و معارف هندوستان و سایر سپاهی در نماز گاه معرکه ازل جهت که مصطفی علیه الصلوٰۃ والسلام جهاد را باصلوٰۃ نسبت فرمود که رجعتنا من الجهاد الا صغر الی الجهاد الا کبر تکبیر گویان دست بر آوردند و در اول حمله چندین زبردستان را از خیل مغول زیر تیغ گذرانیدند و نیزه ملوک درگاه در اعضای اعدا چنان می نشست که نیزه وار از بالای هر یک خون بر می خاست و شست ترکان خاص تهر دریافته چنان می بود که جامه بود بر اهل تار تار می شد - بیت

در اول نگ خدنگ شه جست گشتند قتاریان همه پست

خدایمان شیر دل شمشیر زن با شمشیر چون عقیده خود صاف از میان مصاف هر بار حمله می آورد شمشیر گوئی دران حرب گاه بر شایل آن شاه می لرزید و همه تن زبان شده با و می گفت که امروز دفع این ملائین به بندگان دولت حواله کن و بنفس نفیس خود حرکت مفرم می که شمشیر در رویه است و تیغ اجل را زخمی بے مکارا نتوان دانست که از تقدیر قادر بر کمال بکه رسد من از عین الکمال چشم می زنم - شعر
مر و تا خاک تو بر چشم بندم مکن کز چشم بد اندیشه بندم
فلک روئے چنان روشن ندیده است من از دیده بر آن آتش سپندم
تا زمانه که در میدان سپر غزا و رسوم هیجا با قامت می رسانید

هر یک از اسلحه بزبان حال در مقال آمده نیزه می گفت که شاها امروز دست از من کوتاه کن که زبان سنان من از بسیاری جدال و قتال کند شده و مرا در روی خصم مجال طعن نمانده مبادا که بر جهم و حرکت پریشان از من بظهور آید و نیز می گفت ای عقد شست تو عقد جوزا بر کشاده بقصد این فسد پیش مرو من خود در رفتن مهلکه خاک بر سر می کنم نباید تنگ چشم فلک که بر بام پنجم است و بر در خانه هشتم در گوشه کمین از کمان کید و کین بر سیل جسارت و جفا بر تو خدنگ خطا رواں کند و کند می گفت که امروز سر رشته تدبیر از دست تفکر نمی باید داد که من ازین جنگ بے درنگ و رزم بے حزم تو بر خود می پیچم ساعتی توقف کن که اسلام و اسلامیان چون طناب بر بسته خیمه نعم تواند الله الله با این طایفه رسم طناب اندازی را چندین اطناب مده - شعر

من به رغبت پیش تو سر بر طناب آورده ام
تو کند از زلف اندازی کند انداز من

فی الجملة آن شاه دین پناه کفر کاه بهمه قلب سپاه باین گروه گمراه از نیم روز تا شامگاه غزوه بے اجبار و اکراه می کرد و غوغای و غایان طالبان سرغره غزا گوش گیتی و اسماع سماء کو کرده زبانهای آتشین که از سر نیزه غزا مغز می خاست و زبانهای تیغ که در گذاردن پیغام اجل یک حرف خطا نمی کرد در آن قیامت همه بدین آیه رواں بود که یوم یفر المومنین اخیه پشت زمین چون چشم پیران بصر بباد داده پر خون ، دروی آسمان چون فرق پسران پدر گشته پر گرد - شعر

آهن شمشیر چون آتش چه قایی ای پدر

یا مرا داغ یتیمی بر جگر خواهی نهاد

هم در عین این عنا و اثنای این آشوب و بلا ناکاه تهره از شست قضا

بر بالِ آن شهبازِ فضلی غزا رسید و مرغِ روح از نفسِ قالبِ آنکصورت
 بجانبِ گلشن و روضهٔ رضوانِ نقل کرد انا لله و انا الیه راجعون همار زمان
 پشتِ دینِ محمّدی صلی الله علیه وسلم چون دلِ یتیمان زار بشکست و
 سینهٔ ملتِ احمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم چون گوزِ غریبانِ پست بیفتاد و
 اعتقاده که بازوی ملک را بود از دست بشد و اعتمادی که بیضهٔ اسلام
 داشت از جای برفت راست وقتِ غروبِ آفتابِ عمرِ آن شاه که آفتابش
 زرد شده بود بهغربِ فنا فر و رفت و گردون بر شعارِ سوگوارانِ جامه در
 نهل زده و اشکِ سیاره بر اطرافِ رخسارهٔ روانِ گردیدن گرفت زحل بر
 وقفِ قضای وفا و شرطِ عزِ اکسوت سیاه گردانید و از مرگِ او بر اهلِ
 هندوستان نوحه می کرد و مشتری بر دریغِ آن اندامِ گرد اندود قهای خون
 آلود دراعه چاک می کرد و دستار بر خاک می زد و مریخ که دستِ قوتِ
 او چون چشمِ ترکان و روی معیشتِ او چون جعدِ زنگیان تنگ و تاریک
 باد از تا سفِ آن خار خار که در دلِ خوں انگیخت چون حوت در پیشِ
 آفتاب و چون حل در قبضهٔ تصاب می طپید و آفتاب از شرمِ آنکه چرا در
 دفعِ این حادثه و تمعِ این واقعه نکوشید بر نیامد و در زمین فرو شد و
 زهره چون دید که اجرام از چنگِ ایام چه زحمت یافتند زاد فی الطنبور
 نغمهٔ دف را ورقِ بگردانید و سماع در پردهٔ دیگر آغاز کرد و بر وفاتِ آن
 شاهِ بنده نوازِ خود بجای ساز نالیدن گرفت و عطار که در غزوات و فتوحات
 بر موافقتِ کاتبِ فتکنامها در قلم می آورد در آن نظم از سوادِ دواتِ خود
 ردی سیاه می کرد و از اوراقِ دفترِ خریش پیراهنِ کاغذین می پرداخت
 و ماهِ حالی در صورتِ هلالی باقامتِ منکنی در آن قیامت زمین سر بر
 دیوار و در انق می زد و مراتبِ مرانی نگاه می داشت - نظم

دوی بخاک می نهی و که چنین نخواهست
 ماه زمانه مرا زیر زمیں نخواهست
 گر بشکاز می دوی جان منست خاکِ تو
 خلوتِ خاک خوش بود جان من این نخواهست

حق تعالی و تبارک روح مطهر و مطیب آن شاهزاده غازی را بعد از
 اعلی و مراتب والا بر ساناد و دمدم جام مالامال تجلی جمال و جلال
 خویش بخشاد و هر شفقت و مرحمت و عاطفت و تربیت که در حق
 این شکسته بیکس داشت سبب مزید در جات و محو خطیات او گرداناد
 آمین یا رب العالمین -

He lived the pious and retired life of a Sūfi, specially in his later days, after His life and death. he had become a disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya. Before this event, it appears that he was given to wine-drinking, and lived a free unrestricted life.¹

¹ Cf. his own verses:—

ای حسن توبه آنکه کردی که ترا طاقت گناه نماند

بسیار خطا کردی باز ای حسن اکنون دُرء به زمیں آورد درویشی درویش

جز سیاه کاری نکردی تا سیاهت بود موی
 چون سفیدت شد کنون بعد از سیاهی رنگ نیست

Also, in the following couplets (addressed to his spiritual guide) he recalls his sins before the transformation had

He was for some time in the service of the royal army, but had given it up to attain the bliss of remaining permanently with his Shaikh at Delhi. He had also severed his connections with the royal *darbārs*, and devoted his time peacefully to religious observances for the purification of his soul.

He died at Daulatābād in 738 A. H., about 12 years after Khusrau's death. The date was found in the words: *مخدوم اولیا*

We must now turn to his *ghazal* which is said to Specimens of his rank with that of Sa'di of Shīrāz, *ghazal*. and reproduce some specimens here, with their English translation, for the entertainment of our readers who might also judge his claim to be called "*Sa 'dī of Hindūstān*". His own view about his *ghazal* is: *شعرِ حسنِ شعرِ متینِ خامه غزلِ سحرِ مبین*

غزل

یا رب بخش خطا کرم بر سیأتِ مامضی

پرهیزِ ها کردم دے جوارِ القضا ضائقِ انقضا

taken place, complaining that his long association with the Shaikh had failed to bring about the desired end:—

سالها باشد که ماہم صحبتیم . گر ز صحبتها اثر بودے کجاست

زهدِ تان فسق از دلِ ماہم نکرد فسقِ مایان بہتر از زہدِ شہاست

Further, there are sundry statements in the *Fawā'id ul Fawād* which fully support the above view.

گردِ ارادت بیختی بر فرقِ جانم ریختی
 جانم به نفسِ آمیختی نفسم بوزنجیرِ قضا
 گر روزه سازی در دهم جان در رضای تو دهم
 هرگز برابر کی نهم صد روزه را با یک رضا
 شاخه که فعلم برزند جز فطرت آنرا نشکند
 از فطرت این واجب کند وز رحمت این اقتضا
 در ماندم از بارِ گران لب خشک چون تو دامنان
 ز آبِ کرم سیلِ بران بر کرد های¹ مامضا
 همچو حسین ام خسته تن از جورِ مشتِ شورِ فن
 چشم رضا نه بر حسنِ حقِ علی² مرفضا
 یا رب ز قوطِ نیکوئی قولم نگهدار از دوئی
 خود بهترین حافظ توئی فالله خیر حافظا

ایضاً

ای روی تو ماهِ محفل ما جز عشق تو نیست در دل ما
 ما عشقِ ترا بجان خریدیم اینست ز عمرِ حاصل ما
 از خاد و نعیم بے نیازیم تا کوی تو گشت منزلِ ما
 از رویِ چشمِ شرم نیست مه را کاید همه شبِ مقابلِ ما
 بیچاره حسنِ ترا نهان گفت
 پیداست که کیست قاتلِ ما

¹ مامضی

² مرفضی

ایضاً

دل شد و دنیا شد و دیں ساقیا گر همه رفتند تو بارے بیا
جام تو بر دستِ چو من مفلسے حقه غیب است پر از کیمیا
تا چو قرابه نشوی پاک دل خرقة نکو ناپدست از بوریا
هرچه دهی باز ازانت دهند کرده ام این تجربت از آسیا
این دل گمره شده نشنید پند دیدۀ اعمی چه کند تونیا
باز کجا آيستد این آب چشم تا نه دمد از گل گورم گیا
ای حسن این زهد چه آوردۀ زهد درون رخنه و بیرون دیا

ایضاً

بنده را تدبیر جز تسلیم نیست سر تو اندازۀ تفهیم نیست
ره اگر بر تیغ یا بر آتش است هرکه را همره تو باشی بیم نیست
اخترم روشن شد از خاکِ درت این سعادت در همه تقویم نیست
نور رویت را تجلی خواند عقل نیز اعظم بدین تعظیم نیست
در چراغِ اشکِ خوں از روی زرد وجه زرد پیدا کنم گر سیم نیست
چون کنم سلطانِ عشق ار حکم کرد حکم سلطان را به از تسلیم نیست
نکته عشق از تو آموزد حسن گرچه درسِ عشق را تعلیم نیست

ایضاً

اندر غم تو ام سر و سامان چه حاجتست
چون دردم از تو باشد درمان چه حاجتست

جانا فدای دوستی تست جان من
 عاشق بدوست زنده بود جان چه حاجتست
 عشاقِ دوی تو به تماشا نمی روند
 مرغِ بهشت را بگلستان چه حاجتست
 یک چشم زد لبِ تو دهد عمر جاوداں
 چندین حدیثِ چشمه حیوان چه حاجتست
 هرکه بتو رسید رسیدش همه مراد
 کشتِ رسیده را نم باران چه حاجتست
 خیز ای رقیب بر در او چه نشسته
 در های آسمان را دربان چه حاجتست
 حاجتکه حسن در رلحت رسان تست
 امید کز درت برسد آن چه حاجتست

ایضاً

دوستان در سرم امروز هوائے دگر است
 گلِ امید مرا بوی و نائے دگر است
 روشنائیِ دگر یافتم اندر دم صبح
 در پیکه خاستگان صدق و صفائے دگر است
 ای تنک دل که تو از دادن جان میترسی
 مردن اندر فطرِ دوست بقائے دگر است
 از من و تو سخن اهلِ حقیقت ناید
 مرغِ آن باغچه را بانگ و نوائے دگر است

من خود آتشکدهٔ محنتم و دلبر را
 دهمدم در حق این سوخته رائے دگر است
 خطِ مشکینش دلِ خوں شدہ را درہم کرد
 زلفِ درہم شدہ اش باز بلائے دگر آشت
 چند پھچی حسن از عقدۂ زلفِ خوبان
 کہیں سر رشتہ کہ جنبید ز جائے دگر است

ایضاً

دل کہ در و چاشنی سوز نیست مکرَم اسرار دل افروز نیست
 حالِ صلاحیتِ صبرم مہرَس آنچه کہ دی داشتَم امروز نیست
 غمزۂ خوبان صفِ جاں می درد عقلِ دریں معرکہ پیروز نیست
 ترکش آن ترکِ جگر خوارہ را نیست خدینے کہ جگرِ دوز نیست
 ای دلِ نا پختہ بہ عشقش بسوز خام بود ہر کہ در و سوز نیست
 ابجدِ عشقش تو چہ دانی کہ چہیست عشقِ چو قرآنِ صبی آموز نیست
 دمِ مزِن از صبح و صالِ ای حسن
 چونکہ شبت را اثرِ روز نیست

ایضاً

دل بدائعِ یارِ من بہترِ چو با من یار نیست
 خوشِ دلے دارم کہ در وی جز غمِ دلدار نیست
 ہر درہی با آنکہ نہود بار بارے بگذرم
 کاشکے این بارِ خون گوید کہ بگذر بار نیست

گر زند هر جانیه چوں آفتابم تیغِ تیز
 گو بزن از جانبِ من ذرهٔ آزار نیست
 بس خواه است این مجلس از یارم در آید خوشتر است
 آنکه شیرین جوی شد با جوی شیرین کار نیست
 نشئه دیدار یارم چند گوئی از بهشت
 من نه باشم در بهشته کاندو و دیدار نیست
 وصل میخواستی قدم از کوی هستی باز کش
 کیمیا در حقهٔ غیب است در بازار نیست
 آنچه من دارم درون سینه از سرِّ حسن
 چوں بودم اندازمش کاندازهٔ گفتار نیست

ایضاً

ای دوست ترا بر سرِ وقتم گذرے نیست
 از حال دل بیخبر انت خبرے نیست
 گفتی بگلستان رو و در لاله و گل بین
 چیزے که مرا با تو بود با دگرے نیست
 ای من سگِ کوی تو مزین سنگِ جفایم
 زان رو که مرا جز در تو هیچ درے نیست
 زان می که لبِت خورد نصیبِ من مسکین
 کمتر مکن از جرعه اگر بیشترے نیست
 پرهیز میسر نشد از زخم که زد عشق
 حیلِت چه کنم تهر اجل را سهرے نیست

ای خواجه عاقل تو دلِ خویش نگه‌دار
 بر دلِ شدگان عیب گرفتن هنر نیست
 سر در سر سودای بتان کرد حسن باز
 ای خاک بر آن سر که در او دردِ سر نیست

ایضاً

گو دیده کز فراقِ رخ تو یَر آب نیست
 گو دل که در کشاکشِ عشقت خراب نیست
 روزم تو بر فردز و شبنم را تو نور بخش
 این کار تست کارِ مه و آفتاب نیست
 ای محتسب تو خیمه بخمار خانه زن
 بگذر ز ما که مستی ما از شراب نیست
 آن میزبان که گاه سه مهیا همی کند
 گو هیچ لقمه خواه مزه تر از کباب نیست
 گفتی ترا چه سوز و چه شوردست در سماع
 این زان سوالهاست که آنرا جواب نیست
 بے حلقه کمندِ سر زلفِ نهیوان
 گو کعبه همی رویم دعا مستجاب نیست
 هر در که در خزانه دل داری ای حسن
 آنرا بسکِ کلک کشیدن صواب نیست

ایضاً

با سرِ زلفِ تو مارا سر و سودائے هست
 وصل هرچند محالست تمنائے هست
 دیدہ گر از رخِ خوبِ تو ندید آسایش
 سینہ را از غمِ دیرینہ دل آسائے هست
 نگذاری کہ سرتِ گردم و پایت بوسم
 آخر این کار مرا هیچ سر و پائے هست
 لبِ تو خواستم از غمزہ زدی نیش آرد
 هر کجا فرض کنی خارے و خومائے هست
 خاقی گویند دلت راز کجا صبر آمد
 اے دل از صبر نشانم ده اگر جائے هست
 ای که نظاره دیوانہ نکودی هرگز
 قدمے رنجه کن این سوی که رسوائے هست
 دمدم تیره مکن روزِ حسن را امروز
 آخر اندیشه کن امروز که فردائے هست

ایضاً

چه رویت آنکه گوئی نو بہار است غلط کردم بہشتِ روزگار است
 بنقد امروز با او در بہشت مرا بانسیہ فردا چه کار است
 اگر هر دو جہاں از پا در آیند چہ غم چوں پایہ عشق استوار است
 خود معزول و عشق اندر تصرف عسس بیرون و دزد اندر حصار است
 ہمہ عمر از لبِ میہکونِ معشوق مرا مستی و حاسد را خمار است

اگر قصدے کند زلفِ چو مارِهی شکایتِ چوں کنم او یارِ غارِ است
 بیوسم نامے خود روزِ مکرش که از خطِ سیاهش یادگارِ است
 گرم چو گلِ زند بر سرِ بزن گو نه این گو از برایِ آن سوارِ است
 حسن از چشم شوخش گوشه گیر
 هنوز آن ترکِ مستِ اندر شکارِ است

ایضاً

عالمِ عشقتِ جهانے دیگرِ است
 آستانِ آسمانے دیگرِ است
 عقل را از دفترِ عشقتِ چه علم
 آن ورقها را نشانے دیگرِ است
 دوزخِ اندر راهِ مشتاقانِ تو
 هر شرارے بوستانے دیگرِ است
 عالمے پُر شد ز خاموشیِ من
 بے زبانانِ را زبانے دیگرِ است
 هرگز در باطنِ من جا نبود
 خلقِ ظاهر را گمانے دیگرِ است
 عشقِ ابروی تو خونِ من بویخت
 وہ کہ آن نیر از کمانے دیگرِ است
 با بلا های تو عادتِ کرد نیست
 عافیتِ اندر جهانے دیگرِ است
 درد و راحتِ در جهانِ بسیار بود
 دردِ تو راحتِ رسانے دیگرِ است

جاں بدیں یک بیت داد است آن بزرگ
 آرے آن گوہر ز کالے دیگر است
 ”کشتگانِ خنجر تسلیم را
 ہر زمان از غیب جانے دیگر است“
 ای حسن سودات زحمت می دهد
 وہ کہ آن دخت از دکانے دیگر است

ایضاً

کو دلے کز دست تو صد پارہ نیست یا بشمشیر غمت آوارہ نیست
 سرِ عشقت از دل عشاق پُرس عقل را زحمت مددہ این کارہ نیست
 خوار گشتم در غمت طرّفہ تر آنک اندرین غم جز غم غمخوارہ نیست
 آفتاب از کوہ جلّوہ می کند با سر پایانِ این نظارہ نیست
 با حسن گوئی کہ ہے من صبر کن
 صبر ہے تو حدِ این بیچارہ نیست

ایضاً

سر وے چو قد تو در چمن نیست مشکے چو خطِ تو درختن نیست
 ہر پیرہنے کہ می درد گل بوئے تو بہ ہیچ پیرہن نیست
 ہر چوں تو کسے دگر گزیدن کار دگر یست کار من نیست
 دایم سخن از لب تو گویم شہر میں تو ازین سخن سخن نیست
 از عربدہ ہای من چہ رنجی دیوانہ بدستِ خویشتن نیست
 جاں پیہں خیال تو نشاندیم مارا سر ہے تو زہستن نیست
 گفتی کہ چرا جدائی از من
 این از نالک است از حسن نیست

ایضاً

ساقی شبِ ما شبِ دراز است می دِه که در آمید باز است
 رویت نگریم و سجده آریم در مذهبِ ما همین نماز است
 شهنامه چه خواست کرد محمود او عاشقِ قصهٔ ایاز است
 با وصلِ توام نساخت کارے این کار بدستِ کارساز است
 از ناز نمی کنی بمن روی روئے که تر است جای ناز است
 از زلف و رخ تو عشقِ مرا شمعِ روشن شبِ دراز است
 تا شیوہٗ تست سر بسر ناز
 تدبیرِ حسن همه نیاز است

ایضاً

تا دو چشمِ تو مست و قتا نند همه عشاق در تو حیرا نند
 می لبِ خورد و مست چشمِ تو شد گیسوانت چرا پریشا نند
 گر بجائے سر اندر آری تو جاں بگودِ سر تو گر دانند
 بے دلاں را رعایتِ کن از آنک ار دمی بے تو آند بے جا نند
 تو هم اینجا و ماز تو غافل مکیاں قدرِ کعبه کئے دانند
 عارفان نیکذند از در تو بلبلانِ پائے بسندِ بیستا نند
 ای حسنِ صوتِ بلبلانِ چه خوش است
 گویا گفتهٔ تو می خوا نند

ایفاً

رسمِ عاشق چیست جان در عشق جانان باختن
 هم بیک دادِ نخستین کفر و ایمان باختن
 بر بساطِ عشق بازی قایمست این تعبیه
 از بتان دل بردن از اصحابِ دل جان باختن
 این دلِ گر دیده رسوا چه باز در رهش
 پاکباز آنست و آنجا قلب نتوان باختن
 ذره را گفتم که رقص است اینکه پیدا کرده
 گفت عشق آفتاب انگاه پنهان باختن
 نقدِ جان در ششدر عشقش بنه عیار وار
 اینچنین نرودے نمی شاید هراسان باختن
 گیسوی او بر دلم منصوبها آورد کج
 عاقبت او بُرد با چندین پریشان باختن
 کعبینِ چشم غاطانی و بازیها دهی
 تو حریفِ شوخ چشی با تو نتوان باختن
 ای حسن باز آی از زلف و زنگدان بتان
 پیر گشتی خوب ناید گوئے و چوگان باختن

O God, draw a line of forgiveness on our past
sins,

I observed abstinence, but what was destined
came to pass, and the atmosphere became
close;

Thou didst sift the dust of Thy Will, and threw

it on the forehead of my life,
 Thou didst mingle my life with *self* (passion) and
 bound my *self* with the chain of Destiny;
 If Thou layest a garden on my path, I shall give
 my life for Thy Will,
 How could I place a hundred gardens equal to a
 single Will of Thine?
 If a branch shoots from my action, it does not
 blossom except through Thy Bounty,
 Thy Bounty makes this blossoming inevitable,
 and Thy Mercy makes that shooting necessary;
 I became tired of the heavy load, and my lips are
 parched like those whose aprons are wet
 (sinful),
 Cause a downpour from the cloud of Thy Mercy
 over my past deeds; My body is wounded
 like that of Husain through the tyranny of a
 handful of rebels,
 Keep a kind eye on Hasan for the sake of 'Ali,
 the chosen;
 O God, out of Thy extreme goodness, keep my
 utterance away from duality,
 Thou art the best Protector: ¹ ثَالِثُ خَيْرِ حَافِظَا

O Beloved, Thy face is the moon of our assembly,
 There is naught but Thy love in our heart;

¹ This is a quotation from the Holy Qur'ān, meaning, "Verily, God is the best Protector."

We have purchased Thy love for our lives,
 This is the net result of our lives;
 We are independent of Paradise and its dainties,
 Since Thy street has become our abode;
 Does not the moon feel shy before Thy face
 That it remains the whole night our rival?
 Poor *Hasan* uttered Thy name in secret,
 It is evident who is our assassin.

The heart, the world and religion are all lost,
 O cup-bearer,
 If all went away, thou at least mayst come;
 Thy cup in the hands of a beggar like me,
 Is a casket from the Unseen full of alchemy;
 Until thou becomest pure-hearted like a glass
 pitcher,
 Thy garment is no better than a mattress;
 Whatever thou givest is returned to thee,
 This I have experienced from a grinding mill;
 This straying heart did not listen to the advice,
 Of what use is antimony to the eye of a blind
 man?
 Where again will this water from my eye stop
 its flow?
 Until grass is grown from the dust of my grave;
 O *Hasan*, what sort of piety hast thou brought?
 A piety which is hollow inside and has hypocrisy
 outside.

For a slave there is nothing better than submission;

Thy secrets are beyond the scope of comprehension;

The path if it lies on the edge of a sword or on fire,

Of whomsoever Thou art a companion he has no fear;

My star is lit from the dust of Thy door,

This luck is not to be found in the whole of the starry world;

Wisdom called the light of Thy face Thy Manifestation,

The great star (sun) does not possess this grandeur;

In the light of the lamp lit with the tears of blood,
I should produce gold from my pale face, if there be no silver;

What could I do if the king of *love* gave orders,

There is nothing better than submission to the royal commands;

Hasan learns the secret of *love* from Thee,

Although the lesson of *love* is not taught.

Where is the need for me to have worldly goods
in my love for Thee?

When Thou art the cause of my pain, where is
the need for me to seek the remedy?

O Beloved, I sacrifice my life for Thy love,
 The existence of a lover depends on his beloved:
 of what use else is life to him?
 The lovers of Thy face do not go out sight-
 seeing,
 The bird of Paradise does not require a garden;
 One slight movement of Thy lip bestows eternal
 life,
 Where is the need for so much talk about the
 "Stream of Life"?
 Whoever reached Thee attained all his desire,
 Of what use is the moisture of rain to a ripe
 harvest?
 Begone ye rival, why art thou sitting at His door?
 Where is the need of a porter for the Gates of
 the sky?
 The avowed goal of *Hasan* is Thy comfort-
 giving door,
 At Thy door, he hopes, the need will be ful-
 filled.

O friends, in my head a new desire has arisen
 today,
 The flower of my hope has a different smell of
 fidelity;
 I discovered a new lustre in the morning,
 The early risers possess unusual purity and
 truthfulness;

O light-hearted, thou art afraid of giving life,
 To die is an eternal life in the eye of the beloved;
 From me and thee the speech of the possessors of
 Reality does not come,
 The birds of that garden have a different voice
 and note;
 I myself am a fire-place of torture, and my beloved
 ed
 Every moment holds a different opinion of me,
 the burnt;
 The musky locks of the beloved have perturbed
 my heart which is turned into blood,
 His scattered tresses are again a fresh evil;
 O *Hasan*, how long wilt thou be restless because
 of the knot of the curls of the beloved!
 Since the pulling of this thread of attachment is
 from a different place.

The heart which has not the taste for burning
 Is not the confidant of the secrets that illumine
 the heart;
 Do not ask me of my power of patience,
 What I had yesterday is not with me today;
 The coquetry of the beautiful breaks through
 rows of lives,
 Wisdom in this campaign is not victorious;
 In the quiver of that bloody Turk,
 There is no arrow which does not pierce the liver;

O unripe heart, burn in his love,
 One who has no burn within is raw in love;
 What dost thou know of the alphabet of his love?
 The lesson of love is not the *Qur'ān* which is
 taught to children;
 O *Hasan*, do not talk of the morn of Union,
 Since for thy night there is no sign of day.

Better my heart should be with the scar of the
 love of my beloved, when he in person is
 not present with me,
 I have a happy heart which has nothing inside
 but the love of the beloved;
 By his door, although there is no access to it,
 I wish I may pass once,
 Would that this time he may himself say, "Go,
 thy way, there is no check";
 If my sun (beloved) strike his sharp sword on
 every side,
 Tell him that he should begin from my direction,
 there is not the slightest danger;
 This assembly is quite merry, but it will become
 all the merrier if the beloved comes in,
 For he who is the seeker of *Shīrīn* has nothing to
 do with the *Jū i Shīrīn* (stream of sweet water);
 I am thirsty for the look of my beloved—how
 long wilt thou go on talking of Paradise!
 I would not live in a Paradise where there is no

sight of the beloved;
 If thou desirest for Union, withdraw thy foot-
 steps from the lane of existence,
 Elixir is in a hidden casket, and is not to be found
 in the market;
 Whatever I possess within me from the secrets
 of *Hasan*
 How could I give out, for it is beyond the power
 of speech.

O friend, thou dost not ever happen to pass
 by me in my lifetime,
 Thou art not aware of the affairs of thy lovers
 who are lost in thy love;
 Thou didst say to me, "Go to the garden and
 look at the beauty of the tulip and the rose,"
 (but)
 The object I have with thee, I have not with any
 one else;
 O friend, I am the dog of thy street, do not strike
 me with the stone of cruelty,
 Since there is no other door for me except thy
 door;
 Of the wine that thy lip tasted, bestow on my
 poor lot,
 Do not lessen a draught, if thou canst not increase
 it;
 I could not avoid the wound inflicted by love,

What device could I have recourse to? for there
 is no shield against the arrow of Dēath;
 O wise Khwājah, take care of thy own heart,
 It is no merit to find fault with those who have
 lost their heart;
Hasan has once again given his thoughts to the
 love of the beautiful,
 Oh, dust be on that head which has not the ache
 for some one's love.

What eye is not filled with tears in separation
 from thee?
 What heart is not ruined in the struggle for thy
 love?
 Thou dost brighten my day and illumine my
 night,
 This essentially is thy work, and is not the busi-
 ness of the sun or the moon;
 O Qāzī, pitch thy tent at the tavern,
 Leave us alone, for our intoxication is not due to
 liquor;
 Tell the host who provides the wine cup,
 That no morsel is more tasteful than the roast
 meat;
 Thou sayst to me, "What burn and what ecstasy
 have 'I in music"?
 These are questions which have no answer;
 If, without being attached to the tresses of the

beloved,
 We go to the *Ka'bah*, our prayers are not acceptable;
 Every pearl that thou hast in the treasury of thy heart, O *Hasan*,
 It is not advisable to string in the chain of thy pen.

I am mad after thy tresses,
 Although Union is impossible, yet there is a wish;
 Although the eye did not get comfort from thy beautiful face,
 Yet the breast finds a consoler in its long-cherished pain;
 Thou dost not permit me to go round thee and kiss thy feet,
 Is there any beginning and end to my work?
 I desired to kiss thy lip, but thou didst prick me away with thy coquetry,
 Aye, dates are associated everywhere with thorns;
 People ask me, "Wherefrom has thy heart got patience?"
 O heart, point out the place, if there be one, where patience could be found; .
 O thou, who hast never seen a mad man,
 Take the trouble of coming over to this side,

because here is one ignominious like me;
 Do not darken the days of *Hasan* every moment
 now,
 Just think today that there is a tomorrow to come
 (Day of Judgment).

What face is that? as if it were a new spring,
 Nay, it is the paradise of the world;
 I am with him in paradise today,
 What have I to do with tomorrow which is to
 come?
 If both the worlds go to ruin,
 What fear is there, when the pillar of love is
 firm?
 Wisdom is suspended and *love* is in power,
 The police-officer is outside the fort, while the
 thief is in;
 For the whole of my life, from the tipsy lips of
 the beloved,
 I am drunk, while the jealous is suffering from
 the after effects of intoxication;
 If his curly lock, which is like a serpent, attacks
 me,
 Why should I complain? for it is "a friend of
 the cave";
 I shall kiss my account-sheet on Doomsday,
 For my black record reminds me of the black
 hair of my beloved;

If he would hit my head with his polo-stick,
 tell him to do so,
 Is not that ball meant for that rider?
 O *Hasan*, hide yourself in a corner from his
 dazzling eye,
 For that drunken Turk is still a-hunting.

The world of Thy love is a different world,
 Thy threshold has a different sky;
 What knowledge does Wisdom possess of the
 book of Thy love?

Those leaves have a different script;
 The hell in the path of Thy lovers (is as if)
 Every spark of it is a fresh garden;
 The whole world is filled with my silence,
 For the tongueless there is a different tongue;
 Never was there a place for me in my inner heart,
 (but)

The worldly people think otherwise;
 The love of Thy eyebrow has shed my blood,
 Aye, that arrow is from a different bow;
 One has to get accustomed to Thy tyrannies,
 Peace is to be sought in a different world;
 There is plenty of happiness and misery in this
 world, .

The pain of Thy love gives a new comfort;
 That sage gave his life for this one verse,
 Truly that jewel was from a different mine;

“For those killed with the dagger of Submission,
 “Every moment there is a new life from the
 Unseen”;

O *Hasan*, thy madness is giving trouble,
 Oh, thy commodity is from a different shop.

Where is a heart which is not broken into a
 hundred pieces at thy hands?

Or has not gone into exile on account of the
 sword of separation?

Ask the secret of thy love from the heart of the
 lovers,

Do not give trouble to Wisdom, for it is not its
 business;

I have become humiliated in thy love, and what
 is stranger still is that

In this grief there is no consoler except my own
 grief;

The sun throws its first gleam from above the
 mountain,

Those below cannot witness this scene;

Thou sayst to *Hasan*, “Keep patience without
 me”,

Patience without thee is not within the power
 of this helpless one.

A cypress of thy stature is not in the garden,

Musk like thy hair is not in *Khutan*;
 Every petal of its garb that the rose tears off
 Does not give forth thy scent;
 To give some one else preference over thee
 Is the work of some one else, not mine;
 Always do I talk of thy lips,
 Sweeter than this speech is no other speech;
 Why dost thou grieve at my quarrels?
 A mad man is not in his own control;
 We sacrificed our lives at thy thought,
 We have no thought of life without thee;
 Thou didst say to me, "Why art thou separated
 from me"?
 Aye, it has come from the sky, and is no fault
 of *Hasan*.

O cup-bearer, my night is a lengthy night,
 Give me wine, for the gate of the hope of for-
 giveness is open;
 We see thy face, and bow in reverence,
 In our religion this is the only form of prayer;
 What has *Mahmūd* to do with the *Shāhnāmāh*?
 He is a lover of the story of *Ayāz*;
 For thy union no effort of mine could mature,
 This work is in the hands of the Accomplisher
 of tasks;
 Thou dost not look at me through pride,
 Thy face is the object of pride for me;

From thy curly locks and face, there is for my
 assembly
 A burning candle and a long night;
 Till as long as thy mode of life is out and out
 coquetry,
 The motto of Hasan is all submission.,

Since both thy eyes are intoxicated and mis-
 creants,
 All thy lovers are bewildered at thy hands;
 Thy lips have tasted wine, and thy eyes have be-
 come intoxicated,
 Why are thy tresses perturbed?
 If thou wilt make thy appearance in a certain
 place,
 People will make their lives 'go round thy head';
 Show some concession to the people who have
 lost their heart, because
 If they are without thee for a moment, they are
 without life;
 Thou art here with us, but we are unmindful of
 thy presence,
 The people of Mecca know not the value of the
Ka'bah;
 Those who know thee do not leave thy door,
 The feet of the nightingales are chained to the
 garden;
 O Hasan, how sweet is the note of the night-

ingales !
 As if they are singing thine own verses.

What is the custom of a lover? It is to lose his
 life in the love of the beloved,
 Also to lose at one stake *belief* and *dis-belief*
 (in God);
 This is an accepted theory in the game of love:
 'For the beloved to snatch the heart: and for the
 owners of the heart to lose life;'
 How could I sacrifice this defamed unworthy
 heart in his path!
 He is pure, and an impure thing cannot be
 surrendered there;
 I said to the particle, "What is this dance that
 thou hast adopted?"
 He replied, "It is the love for the sun, and the
 secret observance of it;"
 Place the cash of thy life in the *love-chamber*
 having six doors,
 Such a game-piece ought not to be so desperately
 moved;
 The tresses of the beloved planned evil designs
 for my heart,
 At last it managed to win by playing so many
 tricks;
 Thou didst throw the dice of thy eye playfully,
 Thou art a bold and fearless gamester: none

could play with thee;
 O Hasan, refrain from the tresses and the chin
 of the beautiful,
 Thou hast grown old: it does not behove thee
 to play with the ball and the bat.

Persian gained immense popularity among the peoples of all ranks under the kings of the Slave dynasty, notably under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans. The impetus given to it by Prince Muḥammad Sultān's unprecedented patronage is already described in detail. He had planned to make Multān the *Shirāz of India* by converting it into a big seat of oriental learning in the East. For this purpose he had appointed permanent *jāgīrs*, collected large funds and persuaded his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, too to make handsome endowments for its maintenance. He had twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān to be its first Rector. What is still more important is that the public taste for Persian was largely awakened and people from the highest to the lowest ranks were showing a keen interest in Persian speech. Instances of the cultivation of such a taste by the public are to be noticed in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād, who himself was a great patron and lover of Persian poetry.

He desired that the historic event of his meeting and reconciliation with his father be recorded in Persian verse, for which he specially deputed the *poet-laureate*, Amīr Khusrau, who wrote his famous *Qir'ān us Sa'dain* (conjunction of the two lucky stars) with a zeal and skill worthy of the theme.

The public taste for Persian poetry was so widespread that the *qawwāls* (reciters of *qaul*: speech¹), amateur as well as professional singers, musicians and dance-girls were all deeply interested in Persian poetry and knew by heart *ghazals* of standard living poets like Sa'di, Khusrau, Khwājah Hasan and others, which they sang in every home and assembly to which they were invited. Once the Sultān, on the advice of his father, took a vow not to indulge in his usual court luxuries any more. This news perturbed the *Arbāb i Nashāt* and cast a gloom on the whole community at the prospect of their losing the royal patronage and consequently their influence and income too. They, therefore, set themselves to the task of remedying this evil which threatened their very existence as a class. They selected a large number of accomplished and handsome girls who were known for their fine taste for Persian poetry and music, of whom there was no dearth in the kingdom, and trained them fully in the address and manners worthy for royal companionship. Once

¹ Technically, 'reciters of Sūfī poetry'.

when the Sultān was due to return to his capital from his journey to Oudh, the *Arbāb i Nashāt* quickly availed themselves of this opportunity and, in accordance with a settled plan, disposed these girls in groups on both sides of the road at every halting-place until his destination, and made them sing to him each day, as the royal procession approached, songs of welcome in Persian to arrest his attention.¹ The Sultān, though he was very much affected thereby, was, however, unmoved and continued to resist the temptation resolutely until several halting stages were passed, but yielded at last when he could no longer restrain himself. It so happened that the plotters, seeing the failure of their device and the Sultān's apathy for the dance-girls, promptly changed their plan, and got one of them, who knew riding as well, dressed in a brilliant uniform and made her appear before the royal person, riding on a horse, like a Prince going out for *shikār*.² The Sultān's Ministers and the body-

¹ Cf.

و همچنین که سلطان معزالدین از اوده جانبِ دهلی مراجعت
نمود چهار پنج منزل قطع کرد هر روز قومه از مهوشان سر و قد و از سر و
قدان گلزار . . . بر سر راه می ایستادند و بوقت آنکه کوکبِ سلطان می
رسید خود را نمودار می کردند و سر و دمی گفتند -

(Barnī. p. 157)

² Cf.—

تا روزی در اثنای سواره کز آغازی بچه مهواره شنکی و شوخی بلائی

guards were all completely duped and did not interfere with the young rider, as they took him for a *bona-fide* Prince. So did the sentinels and the Police-officers who became so much charmed and dazzled by his beauty and smart appearance that they dared not question his identity and mission¹. In this fashion the young girl-rider pushed her way through, and when she came right in front of the Sultān she got down from her horse, laid herself low on the ground, and then rising slowly recited this most brilliant and opportune verse from Sa'di:

۲ گر قدم بر چشم من خواهی نهاد دیدۀ بر ده می نهم تا می روی

افتی بی بدلی قهای زر نگاری پوشیده ترکش زر اندود به کمر بسته و دم
شیوه در ترکش آویخته و کلاه شاهانه تا نیمه گوش بر سر نهاده بر اسپ
سبز خنگ دم بر افراشته با ساخت ملامع و زرۀ هزار میخی برنگ شکار
اندازان... از میان فوج شاه بیرون آمد و اسپ را بتاخت و به پیچانید
و پیش کوبۀ سلطان بدو آید -

(Ibid. p. 158)

¹ Cf.—

و نزدیکان را و آنانکه در فوج شاه میرفتند گمان افتاد که مگر ملکزاده
دنبال شکاری دوانیده است... و چاوشان و نقیبان که پیش کوبۀ سلطانی
چشمافها و گرزها بردست گرفته می رفتند چنان از جمال آن مه پیکر مد
هوش گشتند که از در آمدن او مقابل چتر منع نتوانستند کرد -

(Ibid.)

² Ibid. p. 159.

If thou wilt put thy step on my eye,
Must I place my eye on thy path, so that thou
mayst pass.

Then she begged the Sultān for permission to recite the opening verse of the *ghazal*, which she said was more appropriate for her to recall in paying her humble duty to the "emperor of the world", but could not do so for fear of royal displeasure. The Sultān was so much struck by the beauty and talent of the young visitor that he stayed his horse and granted the permission sought for, saying "بخوان و مترس" (recite and fear not). She immediately sang:

سر و سیمینا بھکرا می روی نیک بد عہدی کہ بے مای می روی

O silvery cypress, thou art going towards the
jungle,
How finely faithless art thou that thou art going
without us!

At this striking display of poetic taste, the Sultān was amazed and looked admiringly at the actor who then, taking courage and feeling the ground soft, divulged the secret and told the Sultān how hundreds of her sex had come all the way from the remote corners of the empire seeking his *darshan*. The Sultān, who was already completely won over, broke his vow and took wine, reciting the following verse

which, in turn, reveals his own taste for Persian poetry:

شب ز می تو به کنیم از بیم نازِ شاهدان¹
بامدادان روی ساقی باز درگار آورد

When she heard this verse from the Sultān, she forthwith responded:

غمزه عابد تویم زاهد صد ساله را موی پیشانی گرفته پیشِ خمار آورد²

The Sultān too recalled suitable verses until the party entered the royal tent, where a special banquet was arranged for the occasion. The Sultān then declared her to be the chief guest, and desired that she should preside over it by acting as *Sāqī* and bestow upon him cups full of wine, an honour which she willingly and gratefully accepted. She filled her first cup and offered it to the Sultān with the following verse:

ما گرچه که خوبتر ز ماهیم هم بنده بندگانِ شاهیم³

Although we are more fair than the moon,
We are slaves of the slaves of the king.

To this the Sultān rejoined:

قدح چو دودِ من آید بنزدِ یکانِ مجلسِ ده⁴
مرا بگذار تا حیرانِ بمانم چشم در ساقی

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. p. 160.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

She then continued saying, “نوش شاهجهان نوش” (drink, O emperor of the world, drink). The Sultān retorted:

اگر ساتی تو خواهی بود مارا کہ می گوید کہ مے خوردن حرام است¹

Shouldst thou become my cup-bearer,
Who says “to drink wine is forbidden”?

At this stage, she took the permission of the Sultān to present to him her comrades, many of whom, she said, were waiting outside then and there, eager to pay him their humble duty and homage. When they were led in, the Sultān and the whole court were amazed at their beauty, and the poets in attendance recited off-hand *ghazals* in their praises.²

Such was the general literary atmosphere created in Hindūstān in this age. The fine poetic taste of a common girl, as shown above, and her quick selection and recitation of verses from classical poets, and possibly from her own extempore compositions too, to suit proper moments, needs no comment and

¹ Ibid. p. 161.

² Cf.—

فرمان شد تا آن طائفه را پیش آوردند چون در جمال ایشان نظر
انداختند یکے از یکے خوبتر و زیباتر و نغز شیریں تر بودند . . . و سلطان را
از شوخی آن ده دیدگان عجب آمده . . . و سلطان چنان فریفته ایشان می
شد کہ بیست گان سی گان هزار تنکه آن طائفه را می بیکشید . . . و در
صفت آن خوبان تازه و تر غزلهای جدید می گفتند —

(Ibid. pp. 161-163)

speaks for itself.

Ziyā'uddīn Barnī is India's first great historian¹

¹ Among Barnī's colleagues at the court, there were several writers whose contributions to the historical literature of the times were of special value. Some outstanding personalities were the following:—

- (i) Malik Qiwāmuddīn Dabīr "Umdat ul Mulk",
- (ii) Amīr Arsalān Kulāhī, and
- (iii) Kabīruddīn, son of Tājuddīn 'Irāqī.

Cf. Barnī's remarks about their respective merits:—

و ملک قوام الدین علاقه که هم عمده الملک و هم مشرف بود و درکار فضل و بلاغت و دبیری و انشاء آیتیه بوده است و درکار دانی و کار کشائی معروف و مشهور گشته و در دبیری و سر دبیری مهارت داشت اگر بهاء الدین بغدادی و رشید و طواط و معین امم که دبیران و منشیان آثار گذشته بوده اند مراسلات ملک قوام را بدیدندی انکشت حیرت بدندان گرفتندی و تا چه ساحریها که در فتکنامه امپنوتی کرده است —

و از مؤرخان عصر علائی یکے امیر ارسلان کلاهی بوده است که چندان تواریخ سلاطین ماضیه آردا محفوظ بود که هر چه از تواریخ سلاطین سلطان علاء الدین ازو پرسیدی یادداشت تقویر کردی و بدیدن کتب تواریخ محتاج نبودى و در علم تاریخ مهارت تمام داشت و درین علم اوستاد شهر بود —

دویم از مؤرخان اوستاد در عصر علائی کبیر الدین پسر تاج الدین عراقی بود که در فنون فضل و بلاغت و هنر دبیری و انشاء سر آمد عهد علائی و عصر خویش بوده است. . . . و در تالیف نثر عربی و فارسی ید بیضا می نمود و در فتکنامها مجلدات پرداخته است و داد نثر نویسی داده و گوی سبقت از سران سلف و خلف رده است —

(Ibid. pp. 169 and 361)

who wrote his famous history entitled the *Tārīkh i Ziyā'uddīn Barnī*, *Firūzshāhī*¹ in the reign of India's first great Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. historian.

All his predecessors like 'Utbi (author of the *Tārīkh i Yamīnī*), al-Bīrūnī (author of the *Kitāb ul Hind*), Baihaqī (author of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*) Sadrūddīn Muḥammad (author of the *Tāj ul Ma'āṣir*) and Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī (author of the *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri*) were foreigners who had come down to India from Persia and the Central Asian States.

The date of his birth is not preserved in any Date and place of historical record, but it may his birth. safely be fixed between 684 and 685 A. H.², when Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban was ruling India. He was called *Barnī* because his birth

¹ It is to be noted that there are *three* separate works of the same name by different authors: Barnī, Shams Sirāj 'Afif and A'azzuddīn Khālīd Khān, who lived at about the same time. Shams Sirāj wrote his work after Barnī's death, at the invitation of the Sultān; while the work of the last-named could not be traced, though references to it occur in some histories like the *Rauzat us Safā* by Mīr Khwand, and the *Khulāṣat ut Tawārīkh* by Sujān Rāi of Batāla, who lived and wrote his work in the reign of Aurangzēb.

² *Note:* Barnī relates that he was 74 years of age at the time of writing his history (758 A. H.), thus establishing the fact that he was born in 684 A. H. Cf:—

منکه ضیاء برنی مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاهیم و عمرم بهشتیاد چهار سال که
دو نهم قرن بود در نوشته است

took place at *Barn*, a town in the district of modern *Balandshahr* in the U. P. This town was of strategic importance, and had a strong fort outside it, which was known as قلعه برن. Its governors were appointed from among the aristocracy and men of tried ability and trust. Barni's father, too, who was among the influential nobles, held its governorship for several years. Even Altamash, when he was a Prince, held the office of the Supreme Commander of this fort.

The young boy did not remain at home for long, but went to live with his father at Delhi, which afforded him better opportunities for education. His early life and long, but education. his father at Delhi, which afforded him better opportunities for education. He finished the Holy Qur'ān and learnt to write in the Persian characters in the reign of Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī,¹ and completed the rest of his education in Sultān 'Alā'uddīn's time. His tutors were all, without an exception, men of profound learning, who had come down to India from their respective homes in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān and Trans-Caspian towns for fear of Mongol raids and devastations. He has recorded the names of 46

¹ Cf.—

و من که مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاہی ام در عہدِ جلالی قرآن تمام کرده
بودم و از مفردات گذشته و خط آموخته

(Ibid. p. 205)

learned men of his time, with some of whom he actually read books and held discussions, while others he only met or occasionally associated with, during his long stay at Delhi¹. He was from the very beginning disposed towards religious and Sūfistic literature, and took great pains in reading books on the commentary of the Holy Qur'ān, Ḥadīṣ and Muslim Jurisprudence. Amīr Khurd states that Barnī, while quite young, had become a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-uddīn *Auliya*, and went to live with him at Ghiyāṣ-pūr.²

¹ Cf.—

و در تمامی عصرِ علانی در دارالملکِ دهلی علمای بودند که آنچنان
استادان که هر یک علامهٔ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و
خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفهان و ری و روم و در ربع مسکون نهاشند
.... چنانکه قاضی فخرالدین نازنه.... الخ و این چهل و شش استاد
مذکور که من القاب اسمای ایشان نوشته ام آنا نند که من در پیش بعضی
تلمذ کرده ام و بخدمت بعضی رسیده و بیشتر را در مسند افادت دیده ام
.... و دائم سبق می گفتند —

(Ibid. pp. 352-4)

² Cf.—

او از ابتدائے بواسطهٔ شفقتِ پدرِ بزرگوار.... بهسعدتِ ارادتِ
سلطان المشائخ مشرف گشت و.... در غیابِ پور ساکن شد —
(Siyar ul Auliya, p. 312)

Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq held Barnī in the highest esteem, and showed him unusual favour and kindness. His position and prestige at the court of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq. He remained in the Sultān's service for over 17 years, and received great attention and wealth from the latter¹. The Sultān also consulted Barnī on important affairs of the State and occasionally acted upon his advice and counsel.² Such a position was held by no one

¹ Cf.—

منکه مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاهیم هفده سال و سه ماه ملازم درگاه سلطان
محمّد بودم و از انعامات و افره و صدقات متواتره او زرها یافته —
(Barnī, p. 504)

² Cf.—

(i)

و در آن چهار پنج روز ماه رمضان که سلطان محمد در قصبه سلطان پور
وقف کرده بود در آخر شب داعی ضعیف ضیاورنی را طلب شد و بنده
را سلطان فرمود که فلاں می بینی که چه فتنها می زاید..... و بعد آن
سلطان بنده را فرمود که تواریخ بسیار خوانده جائی دیده که پادشاهان در
چند جرم سیاست کرده اند بنده گفت که من بنده در تاریخ کسروی خوانده
ام النح —

(ii)

و سلطان مرا گفت که درین هفت سیاست از مصطفی صلی الله علیه
وسلم در چند سیاست حدیث آمده است و برای پادشاهان چند تعلق دارد
من عرضه داشت کردم که در سه سیاست چنانکه ازین سیاستهای هفتگانه

else at the court. Even the Ministers dared not open their mouths in the royal presence lest they should give offence to the Sultān. But Barnī, though he was fully alive to this danger, never shrank from his duty as a Counsellor to speak the truth with courage and conviction, which for ever enhanced his rank and prestige.

His relations with Amīr Khusrau and Khwājah

حدیث مصطفیٰ علیہ السلام وارد شدہ است چنانکہ ارتداد و قتل مسلم و
زنای محصن و چہار سیاست دیگر برای سلاطین و در صواب دیدگی ملک
متعلق است و ہم در ذنابہ فائدہ مذکور جہشید مذکور گفتہ است کہ
پادشاہان الخ -

(iii)

از شہر بخد مت سلطان پیوستم..... و سلطان مرا بسیار نوازش فرمود
و دروے من در رکاب دولت سلطان می رفتم و سلطان با من حکایت کنان
میرفت کہ حکایت بغاۃ درمیان انتاد و سلطان مرا گفت کہ می بینی کہ
امیران صدہ حرامخوار چگونه فتنہا می انگیزند الخ -

(iv)

دروے منکہ مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاہی ام در پیش تخت طلب شدم و
سلطان این ضعیف را می گفت کہ ملک ما مریض گشت و بہ ہر تداوی
مرض نمی رود..... و مرا فرمود کہ پادشاہان مقدم در این امراض ملکی
چہ فرمودہ اند بندہ عرضہ داشت کرد کہ در کتب تواریخ علاجی کہ پادشاہان
مقدم امراض ملکی را کردہ اند با نواع نوشتہ اند الخ -

(Ibid. pp. 509, 511, 516 and 521)

Hasan were very friendly at the court and outside it,

His relations with Hasan and remained firm till the last. In fact, he was the cause of their friendship, and was loved and respected by both by reason of a common ideal and gift for poetry. Their attachment was so great that none of the *trio* would suffer separation from one another or could be happy in the absence of the others.¹ His taste for poetry could be judged from his verses that have survived to us, consisting chiefly of *qasā'id*, *qit'āt*, *rubā'iyāt* and *marāṣī*. Some specimens are as follows :

۲ ایبات بر حسبِ مشاهدۂ روزگار خود میگوید

نه کافر نه مسلمان نه دل بدست نه دینم

خدای بر دل من دارد آگهی که چنیم

نه را سخم به امیدى نه واقم به نجاتى

هزار جای خلل یافت است راهِ یقیمم

کجا روم چکنم حالِ خویشتن بکه گویم

نه رای رفتن دارم نه روی آنکه نشینم

¹ Cf.

و سالها مرا با امیر خسرو و امیر حسن مذکور تو دد و یگانگی بود
است و نه ایشان بے صحبت من بتوانستندی بود نه من توانستی -

(Ibid., p. 360)

² Ibid., p. 201.

مثالِ سینہٴ مورد است شرق و غربِ جهانم
 بسانِ حلقہٴ تنگست آسان و زمینم
 مگر خدای کشاید دری ز رحمتِ خویش
 که سخت عاجز و بیچاره و غمین و حزینم

در وصفِ سلطان فیروز شاه

¹ ای یک تنه صد لشکر جرارهٴ خورسند کارایش این دائرهٴ دهر عطائی
 محتاج به لشکر نه ای آنکه بدولت دارندۀ لشکر گه این هفت بنائی
 دستم ظفری بلکه فر آمرز شکوهی جمشید فری بلکه کیومرث دهائی
 مانند علی سرخ غضنفر توئی ارچه نه از شاه بدخشانی نه از آل عبائی
 بر تختِ شهنشاهی و بر مسندِ جمشید ادریس بقا باهی که فردوس لقائی

The following were composed in praise of the sons of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq:

² یکی بمثلِ سکندر که او جهان گیرد دگر بسانِ خضر عمرِ جاوداں یابد
 دگر عراق و خراسان مطیعِ خود سازد دگر بدرگهٴ خود چرخِ قهرمان یابد

This he wrote praising the building of the Imperial College known as مدرسهٴ فیروز شاهی

³ نباشد ایچنین زیبا بنائے وگر باشد چنین زیبا نباشد

He composed several *qasā'id* in honour of his patrons, of which specimens are preserved in his

¹ Ibid p. 540.

² Ibid p. 576.

³ Ibid p. 564.

Tārīkh and other historical works.

Once, a hunting expedition was arranged in honour of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, to which Barnī too was invited. He very aptly recited from memory in the royal presence the following verses of Khāqānī :—

پیشِ تیرش آهواں را از پیِ ردّو قبول¹
 شیر گردد خوں ز بیم و خوں شود شیر از دجا
 پیشِ پیکانِ دو شاخش از برائے سجده را
 شیر چون شاخِ گوزنِ بشت را سازد دو تا
 می شنیدم کز نہیبِ ترسِ این شیر زمیں
 شیرِ گردوں را اے اے غیاثِ آمدِ ندا

A similar example of his taste for elegiac composition is to be found in the following portion preserved in his *Tārīkh*. In this, he has very successfully cited once again the master poets like Sanā'ī and Khāqānī. His elegy is a graceful combination of his own pathetic prose with the emotional verses taken from other standard poets. They show his taste for classical poets whom he read and remembered by heart.

سرِ الپ ارسلان دیدی ز رفعتِ رفعتِ بر گردوں²
 بُرد اما بخاکِ اندر تنِ الپ ارسلان بینی
 امیرانے کہ بر قصرش ہزاراں پاساں بودے
 کنوں بر قہّہ گروشِ کلا غاں پاساں بینی
 پردہ داری میکند بر طاقِ کسروی عنکبوت بومِ نوبتِ می زند بر قاہِ افراسیاب

¹ Ibid. p. 600.

² Ibid. p. 525.

ای داد از دستِ چرخِ یوفا و فریاد از روزگارِ پُر جفا که شاهانِ جهان
 پناه و جهانپانانِ انجم سپاه را بر خاکِ مذلت میانِ چهار گز گورِ ردای می
 دارد سلطانِ شرق و غرب را بزیورِ زحمتِ خواری می پسندد -

مایه زهر است شربِ عالم را میوه مرگست تغمِ آدم را
 ای حریفِ عدم قدم در نه کم زن این عالم کم از کم را
 صبحِ محشر دمید مارا خواب بانگِ زن خفتگانِ عالم را
 رستخیز است خیز باز شگاف سقفِ ایوانِ طاقِ طارم را
 شه مکند بخفت در دل خاک نیلگون کن لباسِ ماتم را
 پس بدستِ خروش بر تنِ دهر خاکِ زن این قبا۱ی معلم را

He was essentially a historian and had a refined taste for history. He held the profession of a historian in high esteem, and thought that the taste for reading and writing¹ history was the sole prerogative of great personages and highly respectable and select gentry as distinct from the common people¹. He knew the good qualities of his *Tārīkh*, and was proud of the integrity and uprightness with which he

¹ Cf.—

اشتغال علم تاریخ به بزرگان دین و دولت که بکمالات سر بودند و به
 بزرگیها در میان مردم سر شده باشند مختص است و ارازل و اسافل
 و بازاریان را در علم تاریخ نه نسبت بود و نه پیشه و نه حرفت ایشان باشد
 و طوائف مذکور را دانستن علم تاریخ هیچ منفعتی نکند و در هیچ محله
 بهیچ کار نیاید -

had described the events. He took great care in writing the history of Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban and his successor, Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād. He tells us with his characteristic frankness that he was, during these years, in his mother's lap, and recorded the events of their reign not by his own imagination but by faithfully reproducing what he actually heard from his father, grandfather and teachers.¹ His own version about the merit of his book is worthy of notice:—

² و من در نوشتنِ تاریخِ مذکورِ زحمت بسیار دیده ام و از مصنفان

¹ Cf.—

این ضعیف (ضیاءبنی) در جلوس سلطان معزالدین کیقباد نبیست
سلطان بلبن خرد سال بوده است و آنچه اخبار و آثار جهاندارى او درین
تاریخ نبشته ام از مریدالملک پدرِ خود و از استادانِ خود که علامه روزگار
بودند سماع دارد —

(Ibid. p. 127)

Also Cf.—

آنچه این ضعیف از اخبار و آثار سلطان غیاثالدین بلبن در تاریخ
آورده است از پدر و جدِ خود استماع دارد —

(Ibid. p. 25)

² Ibid. p. 23.

Also cf.—

من در دیباچه کتاب صدق را از شرائط تاریخ نویسی نوشته ام...
و اگرچه من دوستام باشم و یا نهاشم مرا در تاریخ راست و درست می
باید نوشت و نوشته خود را بپراهین و دلایل ثابت می باید کرد —

(Ibid. pp. 148-49)

انصافها توقع می‌کنم که این تالیف بسے معانی را جامع است... و از آنچه هر چه نوشته ام راست و درست نوشته ام این تاریخ واجب‌الاعتبار است -

In another place he declares in confidence that a wonderful chronicle like this has not been produced during the past one thousand years:—

¹ درین تالیف ساحریها کرده دائم و دانایان علم تاریخ که سیمرغ و کیمیا شده اند هم دانند که هزار سال باز مثل تاریخ فیروز شاهی که جامع اخبار و احکام جهانداری است هیچ مورخه را دست نداده است -

The style of his book is generally simple though, here and there, the diction is highly ornate and is interspersed with verses. The portion dealing with Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād's personal and private history is specially noteworthy. To this he gave a separate name ²قبّة التاریخ, and considered it to be the best

¹ Ibid. p. 123.

² Cf.—

و الا همین چند ورقه که در اخبار و آثار معزی نوشته ام و اوراق اخبار عیش و عشرت اورا و همعصران اورا قبّة التاریخ نام کرده معانی غزلها دیوانی در وصف جمال خوبویان درج گردانیده که اگر در نظر سخن دانایان پیشینه آمدی و در نظر مختصران سلف گذشته از تحسین و انصاف ایشان غبار اندوه از سینّه من برفتی... و اگر می خواهم که اوراق مذکور را که از هر کلمه از کلمات این اوراق عیشی می‌چکد از هر لفظی از الفاظ این تسوید عشرتی می‌زاید الخ -

specimen of his rich and orotund style.

His last days were days of adversity and unhappiness. Though he had always tried hard to please the Sultān Firūz Shāh, and even dedicated to him his best work, the Tārīkh, his opponents at the court succeeded at last in poisoning the Shāh's mind against him. After some time, however, the Sultān sanctioned for the author a small sum as his personal allowance, which was utterly inadequate to meet his bare needs. Just before his death, which occurred in 758 A. H., he had given away in charity even the clothes which he was wearing, and was buried in the mausoleum of the famous saint, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn "Auliya" whose death had taken place in his lifetime.

His works, as mentioned by his contemporary biographer, Amīr Khurd, were the following *seven*, of which the last-named is the most important:—

1. مائت سادات 4. عنایت نامہ 3. صلوٰۃ کبیر 2. ثنائی مصدقہ
5. تاریخ فیروز شاہی 7. and تاریخ آل برمک 6. حسرت نامہ

Besides being a poet, he was an accomplished His learning and scholar of Arabic and Persian. character. In his youth he developed a taste for history, which later shone bright, eclipsing all his other activities and interests. He was proficient in Islāmic history, Jurisprudence, Logic, Traditions

of the Holy Prophet and the commentary of the Qur'ān: subjects which he also taught for some time at the famous *Madrasah* of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. He was often invited by Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq to be present at the religious discussions which were held off and on at the royal court, and took active part in them.

By temperament he was very polite and courteous, and was loved and respected by all those whom he once met or associated with. His great virtue, in the opinion of his biographers, was that he seldom failed to attract the attention of the assembly, because of his versatile knowledge and clear speech.

The steady influence of Hindī on the Persian composition in the Pre-Mughal era is clearly noticeable. Not only the poets and prose-writers born in India but also the Persian immigrants, who came and settled here, succumbed to this influence. This opens a new chapter and a fresh field of inquiry. In these pages, however, it will suffice to say that since the very inception of the taste for Persian composition in India almost every writer has shown his predilection for Hindī, just as in Persia the writings of Persian authors have been affected by Turkish, French and Russian idiom. Some instances have already been cited of the early 'Arab settlers in Sindh conversing and corresponding

'Influence of Hindī on Persian composition in the Pre-mughal era.

in Hindī.¹ Later, in the Ghaznavīd period, the renowned poets like 'Unsurī,² Farrukhī,³ Mīnūchehri,⁴ Mukhtārī,⁵ Hakīm Sanā'ī,⁶ Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān⁷ and others have freely used Hindī words and expressions in their Persian compositions. The last-named left a separate *diwān* in Hindī, which has been noticed by 'Aufī and Amīr Khusrau. Khusrau too, though there is no proof of his having a similar Hindī work to his credit, has used Hindī words in his *maṣnawīs*. Barnī also has done the same in his *Tārīkh*.⁸ Tājuddīn "Sangrizah", a poet of Khurāsān, who in his boyhood had come away to India in the reign of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash, says in a *qasīdah*:—

¹ Supra. pp. 37, 46.

² „ p. 189.

³ „ p. 183.

⁴ „ „ „

⁵ „ p. 185.

⁶ „ p. 261.

⁷ „ p. 213.

⁸ Cf.—

و از سخنِ مستخرگان و بهندانیِ بهندان و بوالعجبیِ بازیگرانِ اله —
(Barnī, p. 163)

از پیشِ ملکِ چچهرِ بیزهٔ تندولِ بر گرفته بودند اله —

(„ p. 182)

و در وقتِ سلطانِ جلالِ الدینِ تهمانِ در شهرِ گرفتار شدند اله

(„ p. 189)

و نیکهٔ برهمنانِ در پیشانیِ لعنتِ خود کشم —

(„ p. 200)

خیز از منی قدیم مرا سیر کن بر طل
 بگذر ازین حدیث کہ یک سیر و یک من است

A still more important verse of a pure Hindi poem, composed by a court poet of Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād, is as follows:—

من کی اوجڑی نکری کو تب کریں آبادان
 نامردین سے جب ملیں موجدین کبادان

It is said to be a long congratulatory poem written on the occasion of the historic meeting of the heroes of Amīr Khusrau in the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*: Sultān Nāsiruddīn Bughrā Khān ruler of Bengāl and his son, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād King of Delhi, which took place at the capital in 688 A. H.

Conclusion

A brief outline of the advent and growth of Persian language and literature
 Conclusion. in India during the Pre-Mughal

era has been given in these pages. It serves as a necessary prelude to the study of Persian life and literature under the Mughals (of which some account has already been published in 3 Parts, from Bābur to Akbar, at Allāhābād). This is the first time when a systematic account has been attempted in India of the literary activities of its people in the field of Persian literature, as compared with Persia, covering a period of over

one thousand lunar years: from the advent of the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the end of the rule of Akbar the Great. It clarifies India's position and its claim for equal partnership with Persia in the service of Persian literature and in the preservation of the integrity of Persian idiom. In short, India produced poets and prose-writers, at every stage of its history, whose writings have been admired and valued in Persia. The latest instance is the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl of Lāhore, whose poetry is inspired and has a new message for the people, the like of which has not been seen in the Islāmic world.

THE END

بدوش صبا می رود بوئے یارے چه مرکب سبکرو چه نازک سوارے

On the shoulder of the breeze goes forth the
breath of a *friend*,
What a light-footed steed! What a delicate rider!

*Letters from the late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad
Sulaimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.*

ABOUT THE PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Entitled

**'A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND
LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT'**

(BĀBUR - AKBAR)

(1)

Allāhābād

Dated 14th April, 1930

My Dear Mr. 'Abdul Ghānī,

It is very kind of you to send me the two volumes of your *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*. I am reading them with very great pleasure indeed. They embody the results of considerable research on your part. This will be a unique history which, I am sure, will be highly appreciated by the scholars of Persian.

Sd. S. M. SULAIMĀN

(2)

31. 8. 30

Dear, Mr. Ghani,

I am much obliged to you for your sending me a presentation copy of the third part of your History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court. It is an excellent work which I am reading with great interest. You have dealt with the subject both exhaustively and lucidly. I am confident that your series will receive the appreciation that it deserves.

with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'G. M. Salazar', with a stylized flourish underneath.

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N.B.—The method of the spelling of names adopted in the few pages under this head will be found to differ slightly from the one adopted in the text. This has been done to achieve the greatest measure of accuracy which, though very desirable, was found practically difficult to maintain throughout the book in the course of printing, unless another six months' delay in the publication of same could be tolerated. Those who seek scientific thoroughness are referred to this method of spelling.

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*A review that appeared in the Statesman, Calcutta,
dated Sunday, November 2, 1941.*

INDIA'S PERSIAN LITERATURE

Prè-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. By. M. ABDUL GHANI
(*Allahabad Law Journal Press*).

The author, who is head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nagpur, has made his special interest the achievements of Persian language and literature in India. He has published a history of these at the Mughal Court, and in his new large volume continues his purpose of showing that in the world of Persian culture so far as language is concerned India was not an outer land borrowing from Persia as the centre, but a main contributor on even terms, a producer of the same culture. This is not the common view. European Orientalists have not paid serious attention to India from this angle, and few Indian Orientalists have bothered about it. Persian is the language of Persia. Its use everywhere else must have been secondary and derivative. That is the easy interpretation generally followed.

Mr. Ghani will have none of this. Parts of India were in culture, if not politically, parts of Persia, and Lahore could be, and was, as original and important a factor in Persian literature as any Persian city. Mr. Ghani makes some survey of early history, so far as is necessary to his purpose, as also of philology. Persians from their first contact with India found Hindi to their taste, and did not disdain acquaintance with Sanskrit and the Prakrits. An event that opened a new chapter

congratulations on your work: the sincerest gratitude of your old teacher for justifying his faith in you, despite your critics, and my best wishes for the future.

Why don't you join the American Oriental Society? I should account it an honour to nominate you.

Ever yours,
F. W. BUCKLER

17, YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI
23rd December, 1941.

Dear Shams ul 'Ulama Ghani,

I appreciate the sentiments that led you to present your latest book on the History of Persian Literature.

The work is worthy of a research scholar of your reputation and experience.

With my best wishes for success in your future undertakings. I hope you are well and happy.

Yours sincerely,
E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO
(Member of the Viceroy's Executive
Council for Defence)

ANAND BHAWAN,
Allahabad, May 5, 1942.

Dear Mr. Ghani,

I am grateful to you for sending me through the Allahabad Law Journal Press your book entitled "Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan." The book deals with an attractive subject. I hope to learn much from it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CHIEF MINISTER
RAMPUR STATE

No. 3561/S

RAMPUR (STATE), U. P.
February 11, 1942.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter dated January 29, 1942 and for a copy of your book on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. The book is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the subject and represents a very great deal of research. His Highness has asked me to thank you for sending him a copy of the book and to convey to you his appreciation of the splendid work and fine research which lie behind it.

Yours truly,
S. B. H. ZAIDI —
(Chief Minister)

PATNA UNIVERSITY,
Patna, the 8th May, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Dr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, to convey to you his sense of appreciation of your great kindness in having sent him a copy of your book on 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan,' which he read with pleasure and profit. He is very grateful to you, indeed, for your prompt and kind compliance with his request. He will write to you personally, in due course in connection with the book. Meanwhile, this is just to acknowledge its receipt.

Yours faithfully
Stenographer to Vice-Chancellor

PUNJAB CIVIL SECTT.
• Lahore, 6-6-1942

Dear Sir,

I am desired to thank you for sending a presentation copy of your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan' to the Hon'ble

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. He is reading it with interest and congratulates you on its production.

Yours truly
 ABDUL HAKIM, P.C.S.
*(Personal Assistant to the Premier,
 Punjab)*

DR. MD. HAFIZ SYED,
 M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
 UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.

13-A, CHATHAM LINES,
 ALLAHABAD
Dated 4-10-'40.

Dear Professor Abdul Ghani,

I write this to offer you my respectful congratulations on your brilliant essay on Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. I have read it twice with pleasure and profit and like it ever so much. This is the best of its kind ever published in English. As far as my information goes I do not remember to have read anything on Khwaja's life and work in English. Your translation of 'some of his verses into English' are accurate and faithful. I wish you could find time to write a book on this subject.

As a student of Islamic mysticism I value your contribution very much. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
 M. HAFIZ SYED

UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
Persian Department
 ORIENTAL COLLEGE,
Labore, Dated 10-10-1941.

My dear Professor,

I thank you for the most valuable gift of your book. You have indeed explored a new region of Persian literature. Your

book is a pioneer work on the subject. It is extremely well got-up, worthy of the research which it incorporates.

What has given me the greatest satisfaction is that you have fervently advocated the cause of Indian Persian. My own conviction is that in some domains of Persian literature the Indians have far excelled the Persians, e.g., lexicography, grammar and prosody. In prose and poetry they are certainly their equals.

Please accept my sincerest congratulations on the successful finish of your labours. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD IQBAL
(*Head of the Department of Persian*)

SIR SYED HAIL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
Aligarh, October 14, 1941

My Dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

Let me first of all congratulate you on the completion of your great and magnificent work. It is well-written, well-planned and well-printed.

I thank you very sincerely for the reference made to me in your work: I hardly deserved it: but now that you have immortalized me, please accept my sincerest thanks.

With best wishes.

Ever yours sincerely,
HADI HASAN
(*Provost and Head of the Department
of Persian*)

SHAH KALIMURRAHMAN, M.A.
SENIOR LECTURER IN ARABIC AND PERSIAN
Calcutta University

51, BAITAKHKHANA ROAD
Calcutta, 30-11-1941

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just received your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan.'

I heartily congratulate you on this work. Great want was felt for such a book. I am extremely glad that you have removed this want and thereby rendered an invaluable service to the study of Persian Literature in India.

I am recommending this book to our University Library and also to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. RAHMAN

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE,
Calcutta, 3-3-1942.

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just got a copy of your excellent work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, and hasten to congratulate you on its publication. Students of Persian literature owe a deep debt of gratitude to you for presenting to them a systematic survey of a very interesting though complicated subject.

With my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHFUZ UL HAQ
(*Professor of Persian*)

SENATE HOUSE

Allahabad, March 24, 1943

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama,

May I say with what pleasure and profit I have read your monumental work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan? It will prove to be a most valuable contribution to a neglected part of the History of Persian Literature, a part perversely under-rated by Browne.

Thanking you very much,

I am

Yours sincerely,

AMARANATHA JHA

(Vice-Chancellor)

